



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

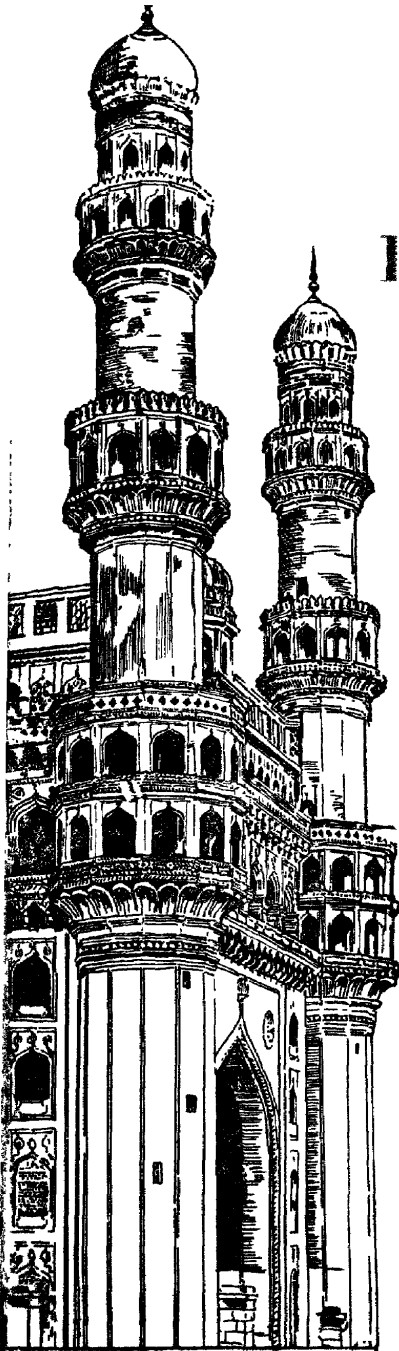
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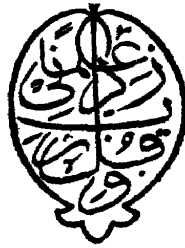
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DAVID LOPES

THE war prevented me from obtaining more precise information about a scholar who was not so well known in India because most of his works were written in Portuguese, and who was thus not appreciated by a large number of students of Islamic history. David de Melo Lopes, for this is his full name, was born in the little town of Serta in Portugal in 1867, and died in Lisbon on the 13th of February 1944. He made his first studies in Lisbon and later at the École des Hautes Études and École des Langues Orientales at Paris. He was appointed professor at the Central Lyceum at Lisbon in 1896, which post he held till 1902 when he took over the Superior Course of Literature at the University of the same city till 1911, when he became Director of the Faculty till his retirement in 1937. He was a member of the Academy of Science and the Academy of History in Lisbon, correspondent member of the Academy of History of Madrid and the Arab Academy at Damascus. I am indebted to Colonel Lope Galvos, permanent secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, for a bibliography of his publications. This list which I give at the end does not contain the following works which deal with the history more closely connected with India. They all have reference to the activities of the Portuguese in the East and in North Africa.

(1) *Extractos da Conquista do Yaman pelos Othomanos*; Lisboa, 1892. This short treatise contains extract from the history of Qutb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawānī, "*al-Barq al-Yamānī*," dealing with the conquest of Aden by the Turks and the conflicts with the Portuguese. Besides an introduction it contains the Arabic text and a Portuguese translation.

(2) On the occasion of the fourth century of the discovery of the way by sea to India he published three separate works. The first was the Arabic text with a Portuguese translation of the chronicle of Zain ad-Dīn entitled *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar*. This work contains also a long historical introduction of over 100 pages, and some ancient maps of the coasts of India.

(3) An anonymous Portuguese chronicle of the kingdom of Visnaga with the title *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*. This work also contains lengthy historical introduction.

(4) *Textos de Aljama Portuguesa*. This is a curious collection of official documents written in Arabic letters but in the Portuguese language mostly concerning the dominion of the town of Safi in Morocco. *Aljama* i.e., *al-'Ajmiya* texts are known in Spanish also and they were written by Muslim correspondents who knew either Portuguese or Spanish but could not write Latin letters.

So far goes my personal knowledge of the works of Lopes. I have not seen the following, the list of which I owe to Colonel Galvos.

(5) *Note historique sur l'Inde* ; Paris , 1897.

(6) *Toponimia arabe de Portugal* ; Paris, 1902.

(7) *Quem era o rei Esmar da batalha de Ourique*; Zaragoza, 1904.

(8) *Trois faits de phonétique historique arabico-hispanique* ; Algier, 1905.

(9) *Anais de Arzila (Annals of Arzila)* ; 2 Vols. Lisbon, 1915-1920.

(10) *Historia de Arzilla durante o dominio portugues* ; Coimbra, 1924-1925.

(11) *Cronica do rei D. Manuel composta por Damião de Gois*. Nova edição.....por Teixeira de Carvalho e David Lopes. 4 Vols.

(12) *A expansão da lingua portuguesa no Oriente nos seculos* ; XVI, XVII e XVIII, Barcelona, 1936.

(13) *Les sources inedites de l'Histoire de Maroc*. Premiere Sèrie Dynastic Saadienne. Archives et bibliotheques de Portugal Paris, 1939.

(14) *Portugais au Maroc* ; *Revue d'Histoire moderne* ; Paris, 1939.

(15) *Textos em Aljama Portuguesa* ; New Edition, Lisbon, 1940.

(16) *O Cid Portugues*; *Gerlado sem pavor*.....Coimbra, 1940-41.

(17) *Cousas luso-marroquinas, Notas filologicas*.....Buletin de Filologia ; Vol. VII ; Lisbon, 1941.

F. KRENKOW.

A L-‘Ā M I D Ī

IN casually looking into the *Encyclopædia of Islam* I found to my astonishment in the article on *al-‘Āmidī* (al-Ḥasan b. Bishr) by Brockelmann that the Cambridge University possessed two MSS. of his *Kitāb al-Mu’talif wa’l-Mukhtalif*. When I published in 1354 A.H. this important work after the beautiful and correct Istanbul Codex (*Fātiḥ*, 4504) dated 641 A.H., I believed this copy to be unique.¹

An inspection of the two manuscripts (Handlist 1127=1128) revealed at once that Brockelmann had made a mistake, which is not repeated in his *Litteraturgeschichte*. According to the Handlist both manuscripts contain "The Weighing-up of the merits of the two poets Abū-Tammām and al-Buḥturī," i.e., the *Muwāzana*. The difference is that the codices contain two entirely different works. The first (shelf-mark Qq 59) certainly contains the work of al-‘Āmidī, while the other presents us with an enigma. On the title-page we read :

رساله قاضى القضاة ابى الحسن على بن عبدالعزيز الجرجاني الثقي فى الوساطة بين المتبى وخصومه

"Treatise by the chief judge Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jurjānī concerning the reconciliation between al-Mutanabbī and his adversaries." However the colophon says :

نجز كتاب الموازنة بين الطائى

"End of the book called the weighing-up between the two poets of the tribe of Tayyī’."

This last statement is substantially correct judging by the contents, with which I shall deal later. This manuscript is complete, in a nice clear hand and well-preserved. It is dated at the end, as printed in the Handlist,

¹ My Arabic introduction giving full particulars of this manuscript and that of the *Mu’jam ash-Shu’arā* by Marzubānī printed with it was unfortunately not published with the manuscript but appeared in an obscure Egyptian journal, because the whole book was printed in great haste. I had intended to indicate in this introduction page and line to substantiate my statements

Friday the 22nd of Rabī' II 694 in Hamāh (the native town of ibn-Khallīkān).

Handlist 1127 (Qq 59).

The *Muwāzana* by al-ʿĀmidī was printed in Constantinople as one of the first productions of the Jawāʾib Press in 1287 A.H. (197 pp.). The printing is not as neat as that of the later publications of the same press and the Cambridge University Library does not appear to possess a copy. It was reprinted in Bairut 1332 and Cairo 1928 and 1932 according to Brockelmann. I have not seen these publications.

I cannot endorse the statement of the Handlist that the writing is difficult to read. Manuscripts as old as this one are very rare even in the largest European libraries and from the ductus and the paper I believe we can safely date it early in the fifth century of the Hijra, i.e., not long after the death of the author. It has frequent marginal notes showing that the manuscript was compared with the original from which it was copied, and a number of corrections are written in the margins in red ink, the reading of the text being crossed out with the same ink.

A pencil-note at the beginning states that the first leaf is lost. This is not correct as the first leaf is glued to the second, and held to the light the title of the book and some other writing can be discerned. This writing may have contained the Samā' or other indication which might establish the exact date of the manuscript.

At the end is another pencil note stating that two leaves are missing. I can see no justification for this remark. At the bottom of the last page the text was carefully shaved off centuries ago, the last words being *و منه الأوكل* line 19 of page 174 of the printed text. After this follow in the edition a further 23 pages which appear really to be an after-thought of the author. The basis of the Constantinople edition is the comparatively modern manuscript in the Hamīdiyya Library, Istanbul (No. 1207) dated 1129 A.H., so that the Cambridge Codex is about seven hundred years older. This text often differs considerably in minor details from the printed one. I give a few examples: p. 2 line 4 after *الح* in margin in red ink *سبحى الصدق*, line 7 *مطر ح ومردول* also line 8 *مطر ح* line 11 *وذلك الميل من فصل* line 12 *حلاوة اللط* also line 14 *حسن التحيس* p. 3 line 5 *وميل من فصل* line 10 *كرامتك* instead of *كرامتك*; line 14 *او ارون* instead of *افارون*; line 22 *وتعلمه* instead of *و باراه*; p. 4 line 9 *الحبر الشاع* instead of *الحبر الشيع*; line 17 *يعابا* instead of *يعبا*; line 25 the text had correctly *عبد الله*; but this is crossed out and *عبد الله* written above it (as in the printed edition); p. 5 line 2 *الاسعيد الصامى* instead of *الكاتبى*. In the *Duʿwān* of Abū-Tammām this person, who died in 238 A.H., is called *محمد بن يوسف الطائى الثرى*. The manuscript adds the second half of the verse in red ink: *فصواب من مقله ان تصورا تحييره*; Later, in the chapter on the literary thefts of Abū-Tammām I have noted (besides other variants)

100

وصدع معاً فوجدت حاسه ثم جعل يحملها إلى البيت
الشعر ولم ينع ثم نوبت حبيبة الطائفة فصاروا
يحملونها كأنهم يحملون قتلهم الفصيح إلى البيت
فواخبره كلامه وهو لم يدر إلا أن يكون له
أن يحبه أو يكرهه أو لا يكرهه وأخبره أن
يكنى بالأمير وكان على السبع من عام وأخبره أن
الصبوح أو الأمير العثماني عبد الله وكان له
الفصيح الأولي ذلك الأمير الأولي وأخبره أن
وإنه لا يلقى قوله وفيه من الخيال أن الأمير
نصر إليه أو كان يصل عنه سروراً وخلفاء بالأمير
ثم قال له الله تعالى في قوله الأمير الأمير
الأمير هو الأمير الذي كان في البيت
وكنى ما كان يظن به الأمير في البيت
مفهومه الأمير غير الأمير والديانج وإن
هذا اختاره وقد عثر على الأمير في البيت
الطريق على اختيار الأمير في البيت
اسم من قبل وهذا الأمير الذي كان
للصنف الأمير في البيت الأمير في البيت
فكانه عند أهل الطائفة أنه من جرحه والفرق في الخط

p. 23 line 12 شجرة instead of ينحدر; line 16 شعراء الحاهلية; line 17 شعر الفحول; line 24 after وكنه is added in red وعمرته; line 25 وعليه والله ما فاتته شئ كبير; p. 25 line 17 رأتى صريخة... ثم ابرى; line 21 تنبع; p. 25 line 3. As a last example I will mention the verse of al-Ḥuṭai'a, p. 26 line 13, where the text has لؤلؤ وبرجد but the marginal note says في شمره وشوف, which is found in the printed edition and agrees with the text of the *Diwān*. I can only think that 'Amīdī himself, citing from memory, made the mistake. Later copyists corrected the error. I have been able to compare only part of the manuscript and took notes in pencil in my copy of the Constantinople edition, ink not being allowed, and I hope that some one in the future will be able to study the manuscript more closely.

The *Muwāzana* of al-'Amīdī was an answer to the biography of Abū-Tammām written by Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī, which has recently been published on the basis of a unique manuscript preserved in Istanbul. Abū-Tammām if not the originator, was the chief representative of a new style in Arabic poetry abounding in far-fetched metaphors, while his younger contemporary adhered to the old style and this roused a lively controversy in literary circles in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hījra. Abū-Tammām's poems found commentators, while this was not the case with Buḥturī. A century later all interest in these disputes appears to have vanished and only the book of al-'Amīdī was copied, because it contained much material concerning ancient poets and among others a list of the many anthologies of Arabic poetry collected by Abū-Tammām, of which only the *Ḥamūsa* attained lasting celebrity.

To complete the series of works on the subject the following represents perhaps the final summing up.

Handst 1128 (Qq 286)

As already stated the title claims that the manuscript is a kind of justification of the poetry of Mutanabbī in relation to his adversaries, while at the end we are told that it is the *Book of the Weighing-up* of the two poets of the tribes of Ṭayy'. i.e., the poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī, which is confirmed by the contents. This treatise in defence of Mutanabbī was written as is attested by many biographers, by the chief-judge, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī. On the title-page is a short biography which agrees substantially with what we are told by many others¹

The summary of all is that 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ath-Thaqafī was a Shāfi'ī lawyer, a native of Jurjān, got into touch with Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād and by his influence was finally made judge of his native town and chief

¹ Biographies are found in the *Tūrikh-i-Jurjān*, Oxford MS Laud 276; Abū Ishāq, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Baghdad, p. 101, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 249-258; Suhkī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 308, *Yatima*, ed. Damascus, III, 238; Ibn al-'Imān III, 56, and others

judge of ar-Rai, where he died on Tuesday the 24th of Dhu'l-Hijja 392 A.H. His body was carried to Jurjān to be buried there. The Qāḍī Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ahmad conducted the prayers and his bier was followed by al-Khaṭīr Abū 'Alī al-Qāsim b. 'Alī, wazīr of the Sultān Majd al-Mulk and other notabilities. Al-Ḥākīm in the *Tārīkh Naisābūr* says that in his youth he came with his brother, then a renowned lawyer, to Naisābūr. Tha'ālībī in the *Yatīma*, copied by all latter authors, states that he wrote a beautiful hand resembling that of ibn Muqla. All authors mention his treatise in defence of Mutanabbī, but none mentions anything about his comparing the two poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī.

The whole matter turns round this. The Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād had written a short treatise of 24 pages (printed text Cairo 1340) in which he pointed out a number of puerilities and other offences against good taste in the poems of Mutanabbī. The work of Jurjānī is in defence of Mutanabbī, pointing out in a long introduction that no poet, even the most celebrated of antiquity, has composed poems free from all kinds of blemishes. After citing numerous examples from poets of all ages he concludes that the best test is to show how the poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī treated various subjects and what faults they committed against good taste. He then gives examples on selected subjects such as praise, Khayāl, travel, etc. and gives often quite extensive citations, first from Abū-Tammām and then for comparison verses by Buḥturī on the same subject. He does not confine himself to single lines like al-'Amīdī, but rather desires to show the general impression which longer extracts would give.

The manuscript is therefore correct in its title-page—the Justification of Mutanabbī—but is incidentally also a weighing-up of the merits of the two poets.

I know of no other manuscript. The Cambridge manuscript is in excellent condition and seems to me correct as regards the text.

I have other work in hand, but I hope that some young scholar, well versed in Arabic poetry, may undertake to publish it.

By the courtesy of the librarian of the University Library I am able to give a page of the ancient MS of the *Muwāzana* in facsimile, so that others may be able to give an opinion as to its age.

F. KRENKOW.

CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(Continued from p. 352 of the October 1946 Issue)

4. CONDUCT OF A BATTLE

A BATTLE was generally commenced in the morning and stopped at evening. The opposite camps tried to begin an engagement as late in the day as possible, so that in the event of defeat it would be possible to fly under cover of night. Just before the beginning of battle a drum was beaten by the orders of Sar-i-Lashkar, and then a horn blown and the Takbīr was recited as a signal for the soldiers to prepare for encountering their enemies. At the second beat of the drum they got ready with their horses and arms and arranged themselves in battle-array. At the third beat they jumped on their horses and waited for further orders,¹ and when the Chā'ūsh blew the war-horn, the combatants proceeded to fight. The war-cry of the Muslim troops was 'Allāh-o-Akbar,'² and the Hindu shouted 'Narayan' or 'Mahadeva.'³

A battle commenced almost in a similar manner during the Mughal rule. The engagement always began with the beat of drums and sound of other warlike instruments.⁴ There were different words for the war-cry in this period. Beside Allāh-o-Akbar, the Muslim soldiers cried *بشار* (Smite),⁵ *ده* (strike)⁶ *زن زن* (strike, strike),⁷ *کشی کشی* (kill, kill).⁸ Akbar's war-cry was *Yā Mu'in*⁹ (O, Helper)! The name has also reference

1. *Ādāb-ul-Harb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

2-3. *Tughluq Nāmah*, p. 92, 93.

4. *Malfūzāt-ī-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 438.

5-6. Describing one of the battles of Akbar at Ahmedabad, Badā'ūnī writes (Vol. II, p. 167).

فروشد عاھی و بر شد بیاہ	ن نیزہ و قہ بار گاہ
ہوا بیلگون شد زمین آدوس	بجوشید دویا ز آواز گوس
سانگشت لشکر ہا مور بمود	سیاہی کہ انرا کراہ بود
کماں کیانی در آمد ہ زہ	یکی گفت بستان یکی گمت دہ

7-8. *Badā'ūnī*, Vol. I, p. 345, *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. II, p. 58.

9. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 55 and *Tuzuk-ī-Jahāngīrī*, p. 20.

looking to right and left. My order is that when the hostile army comes into their sight they must at once raise their war-cry by shouting 'Takbir.'

"If the 'Arid of the troops finds that a commander has erred in his post, he (the 'Arid) should at once replace him by another officer..... My order is that the commanders of the army must study the numerical strength of the enemy with the help of the 'Arid, and also compare the number of the commanders of the enemy with those of their own forces, and then make up the deficiency of their numerical strength. They should also keep in view the armaments of their hostile army as well as their own. They must watch the movements of the enemy, and observe whether they wage battle slowly and steadily or in a haphazard manner. The mode of combating the enemy must be thoroughly grasped, i.e., it should be foreseen whether the attack must be made simultaneously from all sides, or whether one troop should follow another. It should be marked whether the enemy during the course of his assault, turns back and makes a fresh offensive or remains content with the first attack. If he remains content with the preliminary attack, the troops of the right wings, which bear the brunt of the attack, must stand patiently, for real bravery lies in patience.

"My order is that the attack must not be commenced until the enemy has begun the aggression. My order is that when the enemy comes to the battle-field, the commanders should keep a strict vigilance on their own troops, and instruct them how to work. The duty of the commanders is to keep their troops busy, and the commanders must not weaken their hearts during the course of engagements, nor should they lose their nerve. They should utilize every file of their army like a weapon. Some must be used as arrows, some as spears, some as swords, some as maces, some as knives and some as daggers. Every troop should be employed for different purposes on different occasions. The commanders should not treat themselves nor their armies like wrestlers, who make simultaneous use of their hands, feet, head, breast, and every part of their bodies. When nine strokes of swords are given turn by turn on the enemy he is sure to be defeated at the ninth stroke. The commander must first move the vanguard against the enemy,¹ and then the van of the right wing should be ordered to follow it to give it necessary support. And then the van of the left wing should be instructed to remain just behind the van of the right wing. In this way the enemy will receive three blows. If the vanguard suffers reverses, the first army of the right wing must make headway, and the second army of the left wing should keep up with it. If victory is not obtained, the second army of the right wing must advance forward, and the first army of the left wing should follow it closely. At this juncture I must be informed of the action, and the commanders must wait for me. The commanders must join the battle, having full confidence in God, and should always think me present in the battle. If by God's grace the enemy receives eight blows, he will then be routed

1. This instruction is for the forces, when their number consisted of about nine or twelve thousand men.

on the ninth blow, and victory will be gained.

"The commander ought not to be in a hurry, and he should keep the troops busy. And when he is engaged in action, he must save himself from being killed by all possible means, for, if a commander is killed, it causes disgrace, and makes the enemy bolder. The commander should therefore make the best use of sound judgment and judicious device, and must not hurry, for hurry is a Satanic feature. The commander should not rush to a place from which he cannot extricate himself easily. My order is that if the strength of the enemy is more than twelve thousand but does not come up to forty thousand then the assault on the enemy must be led by one of my sons. In his army there should be two Bəklar Bēgī, nobles, and the Qushūn, Tumān, and Ulūs must not consist of less than forty thousand cavaliers. And the conquerring troops, thinking me always present amongst them, must not at any cost give up the cord of wisdom, boldness and heroism. An efficient supreme commander studies the relative position of the commanders of the enemy, and stations his own commanders accordingly. He should keep in view the archers, swordsmen, and spearmen of the enemy and watch also the movement of their entire army, i.e., whether they bring their forces into the field slowly and continuously or with the speed of an army which runs away being vanquished. He must also know the inlets and outlets of the battle-ground, and observe minutely the modes and devices of warfare of the enemy, for they sometimes appear to be in lesser number and pretend to be flying away from the battle-field. A commander must not be misled by their stratagems and dodges. An efficient and experienced commander is he who knows the art of war, how and when to move an army, how to avoid disaster prudently, and how to encounter the enemy. He should grasp fully the intents of the hostile army, and then outmanœuvre all their tactics. A commander must keep an eye on the movements of the enemy and warn his Amīr if he moves from his position without order. . . .

"If the enemy initiates the attack and advances his forces from the right and the left wings, a commander must then swing forward¹ his chief vanguard against them, after which the right and left vans of the Chapāwal and Shaqāwal (i.e., left and right sides of the left and right wings) must be thrown in to co-ordinate with the Chief vanguard. And then the first army of the Chapāwal (left side of the right wing) and the second army of the Shaqāwal (right side of the left wing) should march ahead, and just behind them the second army of the Chapāwal (i.e., the left side of the right wing) and the first army of the Shaqāwal (the right side of the left wing) must make headway. If the victory is not gained after these seven blows, the vans of the rights as well as the left wings must thrust on, until the enemy receives nine blows. And if the resistance of the foe is not overwhelmed even by these nine blows, the first army of the right wing and the

1. This instruction is for forces numbering twelve to forty thousand.

second army of the left wing must be advanced. If the victory is not accomplished even after these eleven blows, the second army of the right wing and the first army of the left wing must forge ahead and attack, and the enemy is sure to be defeated at this thirteenth blow. But if they are not, the commander should properly arrange the centre, and proceed in such a manner as if his forces were adamantine rocks. He must march slowly and steadily, and order his soldiers and archers to gallop with swords and bows. If the hostile army does not collapse even at this attack the commander should personally give fight, as well as wait for my royal banner. My order is that the Amīrs of the forces should not begin a battle until my specific command reaches them. They should also not personally wage battle till they find no other alternative than to fight, but they must keep themselves always prepared for an encounter. And when they receive orders to commence a battle, they must study the tactics of the enemy and observe the inlets through which he manages to break through. These inlets must be blocked and the blockade should again be made free by well-devised means.

“ My order is that when the van of the vanguard advances in an engagement, the Amīr of the vanguard should divide his forces into six parts, all of which should wage battle one after another. These successive blows are sure to inflict disaster on the enemy. At this juncture the leader of the Chapāwal must send turn by turn his own six contingents in support, and should also attack personally. Similarly the Amīr of Shaqāwal should also help the forces of the vanguard with his own six contingents. He must also personally reach them, and by God's grace the enemy will crumble at this eighteenth blow. If even at these blows the enemy does not show signs of confusion, the Amīr of the right wing should make a drive of his van ; and so should the Amīr of the left wing and with the onslaught of the vans of the two wings the enemy is sure to be disrupted. But if the foe does not succumb, the Amīrs of the right and left wings should push on their different forces turn by turn. And if even at this the opposition of the enemy is not frustrated, the Amīrs of the right and left wings should exert themselves personally. And if these Amīrs of the wings experience difficulties, the royal princes, posted on the reserves of the right wing, and the favourite ones stationed on the reserves of the left wing, must attack the enemy, keeping their eyes on the supreme commander and his banner. They should break the ranks of the enemy by their bravery and heroism, and try to capture the commander of the hostile army, and put his ensign to disgrace. And if even at these successive blows the enemy does not give way, all the different forces, the heroes of the centre, the army of the Ulūs, arrayed behind the centre must suddenly make sweeping advances. And if the victory is not assured even by this, the king must move courageously and heroically. If the enemy, by dealing blows on the left and the right wings, as well as on different sides of these wings, manages to reach the centre, the king must consolidate his patience and forbearance and

try to stem their pressure."¹

The above extracts will help us to understand the art of making a total offensive and defensive effort against the enemy in a battle-field. Timūr's descendants profited considerably by the science of warfare of their illustrious ancestor, although they made some changes from time to time in these conventional and traditional forms of fighting. For when incendiary armaments were greatly improved, they were of great assistance in speedily smashing the rank and file of the hostile army. The battle often began with the fiery assault of guns and cannon, which consisted of different kinds and sizes viz., Dēg (mortar), Zamburak (Little wasp), which was so called probably in allusion to its power of stinging), ʿDarb Zan (Swivel guns), Hatnāl (Elephant-barrel), Shutarnāl (camel-barrel), Dhamakah (matchlock), Raḥkalah (small field-pieces), etc.

At the battle of Kanua, Bābur's artillery was placed in the centre of the right wing as well as in front of the centre. The guns were connected by chains and protected by tripod-like breastworks. Matchlockmen stood behind them. The matchlocks and culverins of the centre of the right wing were led 'by the marvel of the age,' Mustafa of Rūm, while the heavy ordnance in front of the centre was under another 'marvel of the age,' Ustād 'Alī Qulī. With the commencement of the battle, Mustafā's destructive fire of the small-calibre matchlocks broke the ranks of the Rajput forces, while Ustād 'Alī Qulī's heavy guns discharged big cannon-balls at the iron-mantled elephants of the enemy. When the battle was in full swing, Bābur ordered his flanking parties (Tulghuma) to wheel round and charge. Simultaneously Mustafā's artillery was moved forward, and the household troops and the cavalry stationed behind the barrage of artillery were ordered to gallop out to right and left of Ustād Qulī's matchlock-men, who also moved ahead and re-doubled the activities of their fire-arms. This movement, which was manœuvred very skilfully, threw the enemy into confusion.²

Hēmū, in the second battle of Panipet, had great confidence in his big cannon. So he sent in advance of himself his park of artillery great both in quality and in quantity, to give a crushing blow to Akbar's army, but the latter out-manœuvred Hēmū's cannoners by their celerity, dexterity and feline skill.³ In 982 A.H. when Akbar's forces were arrayed against the Afghans near Bajaura, the imperialists caused great havoc amongst the enemy by commencing a heavy discharge of ʿDarbzān and Zamburak, which were mounted on carriages in front of the ranks of the army. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack.⁴ Cannon-balls and fire-arms at the commencement of the battle caused similar confusion amongst the elephants of Jānī Bēg of Orissa whom Akbar

1. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, pp. 191-207, Bombay edition.

2. *Bābur Nāma*, by A. S. Beveridge, 568, 569, *Akbar Nāmā*, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109.

3. *Akbar- Nāmā*, Vol. II, p. 36.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 385.

feated in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.¹ And when Jahāngīr's troops were engaged against 'Ambar at Fatehpur in the Deccan, the fight commenced with rocks and gun fire after consternation had been caused in 'Ambar's army by the volleys of these fire-arms, "the chiefs and warriors" writes Jahāngīr in his *Tuzuk*, "drew their swords and vigorously attacked the enemy's advanced force. Their bravery and courage soon put their opponents to confusion. Without turning aside, they then fell upon the centre. In the same manner each division attacked the division which was before it, and the fight was terrible to behold."² In 1056 A.H., Shāh Jahān's troops encountered Nazar Muḥammad Khān in Balkh. "And when the combatants" writes 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lahori "were arrayed in ranks on both sides, the cannoneers and the rocket-men of the victory-laden forces discharged their cannons and bans, which killed many soldiers of the hostile army. The right and the left wings of the enemy, hearing these terrible volleys, which make the gall-bladder of even the lion distracted, could not afford to stand firmly and were put to flight."³

Again, when prince Aurangzēb fought against the Persians at Shāh Mīr, he had a long line of artillery in front of his army, and behind the artillery was placed the advance guard. The Persians arranged their artillery in a similar manner, so the battle opened with a heavy discharge of fire from either side. The Persians avoided the cannonade of the front lines, and so wheeled round and pressed on the flanks and rear of the Mughals. But the Mughals stood invincible against the vigour of the Persian charges.⁴ The battle of Dharmaut, fought between Aurangzēb and Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, also began with the usual discharge of artillery, rockets and muskets at long range. The guns and muskets, fired at point-blank range from Aurangzēb's vans, woefully thinned the ranks of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh's troops. But the Rajputs dashed forward and made impetuous attacks on Aurangzēb's artillery, which was shaken for the time being. Aurangzēb's gunners, however, recovered from the shock and managed to mount their pieces on high ground and then concentrated their fire on the enemy's centre. This caused great havoc in the Mahārāja's army.⁵ At the battle of Samugarh, Dārā's artillery was drawn up in one row along his entire front. Behind it, there stood a body of foot-musketeers, who were sheltered by the wall of big cannon. Next were stationed camels bearing Shutarṁāl (camel-barrels) on their backs, and then, further behind, were placed elephants carrying elephant-barrels. The front of Aurangzēb's van was similarly protected by two divisions of artillery, each under a separate officer. The action began with discharges of rockets and guns. Dārā initiated the offensive. He "discharged his artillery, making a frightful noise, and covering the air with a thick cloud of smoke like the mantle of dark night." Aurangzēb was cautious in making counter-charges with his big guns, as he did not like to waste his power

1. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, p. 612.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 154.

3. *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 551.

4. *Ibid.*, 551

5. *Ālamgīr Nāma*, p. 66.

uselessly. He avoided a distant cannonade and waited for a closer range. Dārā's army misjudged the silence of Aurangzēb's guns, so Dārā's son Sipihīr Shikoh, the leader of the advance force, in concert with the well-known hero and scarred veteran of the day, Rustam Khān Dakhnī, forced his way to Aurangzēb's artillery, with ten or twelve thousand horses. The cavalry tried to sweep down upon Aurangzēb's van but it failed to penetrate the rows of Aurangzēb's guns, which were chained together. Aurangzēb's chief of artillery and the musketeers behind his guns stood fast and unperturbed in their positions, and warded off the powerful onset with one murderous volley from their cannon. Just at this juncture a ball struck the elephant of the brave Rustam Khān and stretched the animal dead upon the ground. Rustam Khān hewed his way to his right hand and fell upon the left wing of his opponents. But the cannon-balls from Aurangzēb's army caused fearful carnage in the ranks of Rustam Khān's followers. Dārā could not tolerate the discomfiture of Sipihīr Shikoh and Rustam Khān, so he foolishly quitted his position in the centre and hastened with his guns against Aurangzēb's artillery. He advanced in person placing his van and guns behind himself. This obstructed the discharge of his artillery, while Aurangzēb continued to make heavy volleys of rockets, cannons and musket balls without giving his opponents any chance to retaliate. Dārā found himself in a perilous position and asked his gunners to bring their pieces up to him, but it was too late. Meanwhile Aurangzēb's artillery blasted a lane of death into the thick of the foe. Dārā avoided his enemy's cannonade by swerving towards his extreme right, but before he reached his van, a large number of his followers succumbed to the deadly fire of the hostile army. Seeing confusion in Dārā's ranks, Aurangzēb's right wing wheeled round to encircle the former's division, and the batteries from the right and left sides assailed it simultaneously without the least danger of being subjected to counter-fire. Like the waves of the sea they approached Dārā with countless guns in front of them, and then began the incessant cannonade. "Cannon-balls carried off head or limbs; shots weighing 16 lbs. and 20 lbs. flew through the air."

Dārā's elephant was the main target. A large number of his officers perished fighting frantically. Seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed, Dārā became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this moment a rocket struck the howdah of his elephant. This alarmed him so much that he alighted in haste from his elephant without even waiting to put on his slippers, and mounted a horse. And when Dārā's troops saw that the howdah of his elephant was empty, they believed that their supreme commander had fallen, and at once all was over with Dārā.

(To be Continued).

S. SABAHUDDIN.

1. For details vide 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp. 96-105 Wāq'āt 'Ālamgīrī, 43-48; Khāfi Khān, 28-31. Jadu Nath Sarkar has also given a long description of the battle in his *History of Aurangzēb*, Vol. II, Chapter XVI.

MODERN URDU POETS OF HYDERABAD¹

THE plateau of the Deccan, which is now occupied by the Hyderabad State, has been the cradle of vernacular poetry from very early times, and if we turn back the pages of history we notice that at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. and the beginning of the 17th century there were two kings of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, who composed lyric verse in the Dekhani language in an elegant style. The Dekhani language, according to the opinion of expert Urdu scholars, is the foster-mother, if not the real mother of the Urdu language. Coming down to later times we find among the rulers of the Āṣaf Jāhī dynasty poets of great merit, particularly the late Nizām and his illustrious and talented son, the present ruler. The charm of the late Nizām's verse lay in beauty of language as well as in elegance of diction and piquancy of ideas. The poetry of His Exalted Highness also amply deserves the compliment contained in the old adage - كلام الملوك ملوك الكلام - 'the king's verse is the noblest verse,' because he is not only a masterly craftsman, but a deep thinker and a profound scholar.

The love of poetry of these two kings not only inspired the people of Hyderabad State, but also attracted the master poets of India to their court. Notably, Nawab Mirza Khān Dāgh, who came to Hyderabad in the eighties of the last century and was duly honoured by the Court, receiving the title of Nawab Faṣīḥ-ul-Mulk Bahādur with a princely allowance. Later, Munshī Amīr Aḥmad Mīnā'ī also moved from Rampur to Hyderabad, and he breathed his last at this place. The best poems of Dāgh were composed in Hyderabad, and besides the late Nizām a large number of Hyderabad nobles became his pupils. Dāgh was succeeded at the Court by his distinguished disciple, Ḥāfiẓ Jalīl Ḥasan Jalīl, whom His Exalted Highness, the present Nizām, honoured by the title of Nawab Faṣāḥat Jung Bahādur.

¹This paper was read at a meeting of the Hyderabad Centre of the Poetry Society, held at the residence of Sahibzada Nawab Basalat Jah Bahadur in January, 1946—G Y

During the reign of the above-mentioned two kings of the Āsaf Jāhi dynasty, some other poets of creative genius visited Hyderabad, the most notable among them being Hālī and Sarshār who came during the rule of the late Nizām and Iqbāl, Fānī, Aṣghar Josh, Ḥafīz, Jigar and Sāghar who visited it during the reign of the present ruler. All of them were warmly received and some were offered suitable appointments, or were granted adequate pecuniary aid. As these poets belonged to different schools of thought their verse widened the outlook of the younger generation of Hyderabad, particularly those who possessed the poetic instinct.

It will be appropriate to mention in this connection the names of Maulavī ‘Alī Ḥaidar Šāhib Ṭabāṭabā’ī, Professor of the Nizam College, and Maulavī Wahīd-ud-Dīn Šāhib Salīm and Maulavī ‘Abdul Ḥaq Šāhib of the Osmania University, who interpreted to the students the true ideals of poetry and saved them from the pitfalls of superficial verse. Hyderabad now has a galaxy of young poets, and the four whom I have selected for my discourse should not necessarily be considered to be the best among them, but they are fairly representative of the group—one of them is a Government official, another is a communist, the third is a rustic hailing from a country town, and the fourth belongs to the royal family. The political and economic conditions of the world in general and of India in particular have given a certain poignancy to their ideas, but the grace of expression and the musical effect which have been the characteristics of Oriental poetry from the times of Kālīdās and Bhās, or Khusrau and Ḥafīz still form the attractive features of the verse of the modern Urdu poets of the Deccan.

I shall first of all introduce to you Fazl-ur-Rahmān, the talented Controller of the Broadcasting Department of H.E.H.’s Government. He is forty-three years of age, slim, handsome, with large bright eyes, determined to a degree in his convictions, but polite and courteous to all. He was first educated at the Nizam College and afterwards at the Poona College whence he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts of the Bombay University with honours. The political activities of Poona made an indelible impression on the young mind of Fazl-ur-Rahmān and we see reflections of this in such poems as :

جب آگے بڑھینگے دست و قدم چالیں کڑوڑ انسانوں کے
 ہل جائینگے گنبد مشرق سے مغرب تک سب ایوانوں کے
 لاجاروں کی قسمت چمکے گی پھر حائینگے دن نادانوں کے
 پھر یہ ساری دکھیا راتیں
 گویا منظر افسانوں کے

Translation

When the hands and feet of four hundred million people move
 forward,

The domes of all the palaces of the East and West will shake :
 The fortunes of the helpless will smile, the days of the innocent
 will brighten,
 And all these painful nights will appear as dark scenes of a story.

This poem besides its patriotic tone and the charm of its language has a metrical force appropriately echoing the march of an army of 400 millions soldiers. Fazl-ur-Rahmān is most judicious in the selection of metres, but in the present case he seems to be influenced by some English poets, notably Tennyson, whose well-known poem, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, produces a similar effect.

Fazl-ur-Rahmān has read English literature extensively and one may find the echo of Tennyson's well-known lines on the nebular theory in the *Princess* in Fazl-ur-Rahmān's *Karishma-i-Vujūd*, the *Miracle of Existence*. But our poet has dealt with the theory in such an original way and with such charm of diction that his art cannot be called purely imitative. I quote the poem, but for such readers as are not familiar with the Urdu language I give also a translation :

نہ ستاروں کے تھے چراغ یاں	نہ زمین نہ تھی نہ آسماں
فقط ایک سیاہ سا کچھ دھواں	فقط ایک دھدلی سی کھر بھی
نہ یہ ابر و باد نہ بارشیں	نہ یہ مہر و ماہ کی گردشیں
نہ یہ دشت تھے نہ یہ گلستان	نہ یہ روز و شب نہ یہ بحر و بر
ابھی لاکھوں نقش ابھرنے تھے	ابھی ماہ و سال گزرنے نہ تھے
ابھی زندگی کی یہ داستان	نہ لکھی تھی وقت کے ہاتھوں نے
مجھ دھوم عرش سے فرش تک	اٹھا شور چار سو یک بہ یک
وہ چلا حیات کا کارواں	وہ کھلے وجود کے راستے
تھی خوشی کی اصل میں انتہا	غم زندگی کی یہ ابتدا
کہیں رقص محفل آسماں	کہیں دور میں قلع زمین
کبھی چادر ابر بہار کی	کبھی آفتاب کی روشنی
لگا جگمگانے یہ خاکدان	کبھی ماہتاب کے نور سے
کہ نہ جس کی حد نہ کچھ انتہا	وہ ارتقا کا وہ سلسلہ
بنے آج انجم ضوء فسان	جو حقیر ذرے تھے کل کے دن
کہیں شعلے شمع خیال کے	کہیں جلوے حسن و جمال کے
ہوئی سرفرازی دو جہاں	غرض اے نگہ کے اشارے میں

Translation

Neither was the earth made nor the sky,
Nor did the lamps of the stars shine therein :
There was but a dim fog-like veil,
Or a dark smoky screen.
There were no revolutions of the sun and the moon,
Nor were these clouds, or the winds and rains :
Nor the day and night, nor the ocean and sea ;
Nor the deserts, nor the gardens.
Many a cycle was to pass,
Many a feature to take shape :
Nor had the hands of Time
Written down the story of creation.
Suddenly a loud voice was heard in all directions :
It echoed below and above ;
Lo, the paths of existence have opened,
The caravan of life has started.
The beginning of the sufferings of life
Was really the excess of joy ;
The cup of earth was rotating here,
The assemblage of heaven revolving there.
Sometimes the blaze of the sun,
Sometimes the shady screen of the spring-cloud,
Sometimes the light of the moon
Which lit up the entire earth.
The continuous process of evolution
Which has no limit nor any end ;
What yesterday were the insignificant atoms,
Today shine as light-reflecting stars.
Here the vision of beauty and charm,
There the radiance of the lamp of intellect ;
In short, by a nod
Both worlds (the visible and invisible) were honoured.

In this poem Fazl-ur-Rahmān has kept in view the Islamic idea of the creation of the world side by side with modern scientific theories. The religious spirit of Fazl-ur-Rahmān is also apparent in another poem in which he describes the different features of the universe according to the theory of electrons. The latter poem is one of his masterpieces, for the poet has exhibited therein not only his high imaginative power, but also exqui-

site taste in the choice of words and the fluency of metre. The language is extremely simple, offering perhaps a solution of the difficult problem of how to combine Hindi with Urdu, and the expression so resonant with feelings of love that it at once touches the inner chords of the heart. For instance, these two hemistichs :

یہ برند یہ بیت کے مارے ہوئے
نہیں بجھتی یرم کی جن کے اگن

Translation

These birds, the victims of love,
The glow of whose ardour never flickers.

I quote the poem in full and also give a translation :

یہ پہاڑ یہ نہر یہ کھیت یہ بن یہ زمیں جو ہے جلووں میں رشک چمن
وہ ستارے جو پھول ہیں روسی کے وہ فلک جو ہے نور کا ناغ عدن
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ بیاری زمیں وہ فضائیں فلک کی وہ چرخ برین
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ ہوائیں جو باغوں میں مست ہیں سب یہ درخت جو شیشہ بست ہیں سب
یہ بہار اور نکمت و رنگ کی مئے یہ صراحتی لالہ یہ جام سن
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ بیاری زمیں وہ فضائیں فلک کی وہ چرخ بریں
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ شگونے حسینوں کی جن میں ادا یہ نسیم کا رقص یہ موج صبا
یہ برند یہ بیت کے مارے ہوئے نہیں بجھتی یرم کی جن کے اگن
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ بیاری زمیں یہ فضائیں فلک کی وہ چرخ بریں
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ بشر جو ہے خلق کا لخب جگر ہے جو ساری خدائی کا نور نظر
ہے یہ کون سے ذروں کا ناچ پیا ہے یہ کونسی لہروں کا کھیل سجن
یہ تخیل و فکر یہ ذہن رسا یہ تکلم و نطق یہ ذوق نوا
ہے یہ کون سے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
ہے یہ کون سی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

Translation

These mountains, rivers, fields and forest,
This earth which for its natural charms excels a garden,

The stars which are light-emitting flowers,
 The sky which is the illuminated garden of heaven,
 These delightful views, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky and the sublime firmament :
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units,
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

The zephyr which is in a state of inebriation in the garden,
 The trees which hold cups in their hands,
 This wine of bloom, fragrance and colour,
 The flagon of tulips, the cup of jasmine :
 These delightful sights, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky, the sublimity of heaven,
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units,
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

The buds which possess the charm of beautiful maidens,
 The dance of the breeze, and the waving of the zephyr,
 These birds, the victims of love,
 The glow of whose ardour never flickers ;
 These delightful views, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky, and the sublime firmament :
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units ;
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

Man who is the heart of ' the creation,'
 The light of the eyes of the entire universe ;
 The dance of which electric units represents him ?
 The play of which electric waves portrays him ?
 This imagination, thought, and the discerning mind,
 The power to talk, the art of speaking, and the taste for music,
 The dance of which electric units represents him ?
 The play of which electric waves portrays him ?

Fazl-ur-Rahmān is not a *ghazal-go*, lyrical poet, in the true sense of the term, but a considerable element of love poetry is to be noticed in his poems. There is however no outburst of passion, on the contrary the poet's artistry, regulated by a strict mental discipline, presents the delicacies of emotion in beautiful patterns of philosophical themes. The nappy union of feelings of love with sober thought is best illustrated in poems like *Jagat Devi*, ' the Goddess of the Universe,' some lines of which with a translation I venture to quote below :

کبھی دھوب کے روپ میں مسکرا نا	کبھی چھپ کے بدلی میں آنسو بہانا
شعاعوں سے سحر کی مائے بہ افشاں	نغمے سے ہنسی بہ منہدی لگانا
ستاروں سے مکھڑا چھائے کی خاطر	بہر اودی گھٹاؤں کو آنچل بنانا
سہلا میں کبھی سہر والوں کی آکر	لجائی نگاہوں سے بجلی گرانا

کبھی قتل کرنا جلانا کبھی پہر
 ادھر دل میں رس بس کے شوخی دکھانا
 ادھر بیب کی ریت من کو سکھانا
 دل و جان کو سوسو طرح آزمانا
 کبھی بن کے آرام جاں بن بلائے
 دکھی دل کی ہر دم سلی کو آنا
 غرض اس کی چاہ کا کوئی بیروہ
 نہ کچھ دیر اور دشمنی کا ٹھکانا

Translation

Sometimes smiling in the glory of sunshine,
 Sometimes concealing herself behind the clouds and shedding
 Decorating the forehead with the gold of morning rays ; [tears :
 Painting the palms with the *henna* of sunset :
 To conceal her face from the stars
 Using the veil of mauve clouds ;
 Sometimes entering the assemblies of town-people
 And casting thunder-bolts of amorous glances :
 Murdering sometimes, reviving at others,
 Sometimes causing the tumult of resurrection.
 On the one hand keeping herself at a distance from the eyes,
 On the other occupying the heart and dallying.
 Outwardly finding out excuses to pretend ignorance,
 Inwardly teaching the heart the rules of love.
 Sometimes showing indifference throughout one's life,
 And examining the heart and soul in a thousand ways ;
 Sometimes solacing without request,
 And visiting to minister to the heart in anguish.
 In short neither is her love to be trusted,
 Nor is there any limit to her hostility and revenge.

In addition to his high poetical talent Fazl-ur-Rahmān possesses a well-developed critical ability, and these double qualifications have made him eminently fit for the task which he has set before him of holding *Mushā'iras* at regular intervals to guide the budding poets of Hyderabad by his sound advice and balanced judgment. I may add, parenthetically, that Fazl-ur-Rahmān is also an accomplished dramatist, and founder of the Urdu stage in Hyderabad. He has translated several English dramas, adapting them to Indian conditions of life. For instance, his *Fasāhat Begam* shows no less ingenuity and sense of humour than Mrs. Malaprop in *The Rivals* of Sheridan. Fazl-ur-Rahmān has written several original dramas also which have been published. Apart from their literary merit these dramas throw considerable light on the present social and economic problems of the country.

I now pass on to another poet whom I have called 'rustic' in the beginning of this paper. His name is Sikandar 'Ali and his poetic title Vajd. I shall refer to him by the poetic title only henceforward. Vajd was born in a village of the Vijapur Taluqa of Aurangabad district. He grew up in a rural atmosphere, hence the simplicity and directness of his character. Vajd went for secondary education to Aurangabad, the historical environs and traditions of which appealed to his patriotic instinct and artistic mind. He has appropriately expressed his feelings regarding the glory of this place in his poem entitled *Aurangabad*. He writes :

بری یابندگی یوں ہنس رہی ہے انقلابوں پر
 زمانہ میں برے آثار کی بوفیر ہوتی ہے
 رہی چشم مذاہب برے در برخونچکن برسوں
 ہے پیری وادیوں میں عزم خلجی نے قرار اب تک
 ولی کے نعمت حاسوز گونجے تری محمل میں
 ترے ہی ساز میں نے سے نغمے جوانی کے
 سمندر جیسے ہنستا ہے حقارت سے حبابوں پر
 بری آغوش میں مہذب اہل ہند سوتی ہے
 رہی گئے دامن کہسار میں جن کے نشان برسوں
 فضا میں ہمت تغلق کا اڑنا ہے غبار اب تک
 سراج بزم عرفان سے اجالا ہے برے دل میں
 ترے ماحول میں سیکھے ہیں گر جادو بیانی کے
 نخیل بر سرے متقوش ہے پیری بہار اب تک
 برے آسو بری الفت کے ہیں آئینہ دار اب تک

Translation

Thy immortality is smiling at the revolutions of Time,
 Just in the same way as the ocean laughs at the bubbles.
 Thy monuments are looked at with respect all the world over,
 The culture of India rests in thy lap.
 The eye of many a religion has shed tears of blood in search of
 truth at thy threshold,
 The stains will survive in thy hills for centuries to come.
 The tremor of Khalji's expeditions is still felt in thy valleys,
 Thy atmosphere is still cloudy with the dust raised by Tughluq's
 dauntless invasion.
 The heart-melting songs of Wali resound in thy assemblies,
 And the inspiring poems of Sirāj illumine thy heart.
 I have heard the notes of youth from thy harp,
 I have learnt the magic of speech in thy nooks.
 Thy glory is painted fresh on my imagination,
 My tears mirror-like reflect affection for thee even now.

Vajd came to Hyderabad for higher education and joined the Osmania University, where he had a brilliant literary career. He edited the Urdu section of the *Osmania University Magazine* and developed his poetic talents under such teachers as Maulānā 'Abdul-Ḥaq Ṣaḥīb, and in the

company of such fellow-students as Makhdūm and Maikash. Vajd possesses a musical voice, and his own view is that the musical effect of a poem much enhances its appeal. He writes :

طرز کہن سے سرد ہوئی محفل ادب ساز سخن کو نعمۂ جذب طراز دے

The literary assemblies have become cold by reason of old rhymes,
The lute of poesy should produce fresh melodies now.

Again, he does not consider verbal elegance essential for poetry ; according to him the search for truth, which is real beauty, should be the aim of a poet :

شعر کے پردے میں راز زندگانی فاس ہو صرف لفظی شاعری کا وجد میں قائل نہیں

Poetry should reveal the truths of existence ;
Vajd has no faith in the verse which has only verbal ornamentation.

The poet, although quite young, being only 33 years old, is a sound thinker and a clever artist, which characteristics promise well for his future progress. To show the music of his poetry, and his fertile imagination combined with deep thought, I quote some stanzas of his well-known poem, *Ajanta*, which is considered to be a masterpiece :

جگر کے حُرّٰن سے کہتے تھے گئے ہیں نقس لانا صدوں جن کے ہر خط پر تعمیر خانہ مانی
مشکل ہے شباب و حسن میں تخیل انسانی تقدس کے سہارے جی رہا ہے ذوق عربانی
گلستان اجنتا پر جنوں کا راج ہے گویا
یہاں جذبات کے اطہار کی معراج ہے گویا

بہانہ مل گیا اہل جنوں کو حسن کاری کا اٹانہ لوٹ ڈالا سو ف میں فصل بہاری کا
چٹانوں پر بنایا نقس دل کی بے قراری کا سکھایا گر اسے جذبات کی آئینہ داری کا
دل کہہ سار میں محفوظ اپنی داستان رکھدی
جگر داروں نے بنیاد جہاں حاوداں رکھدی

ہنرمندوں نے تصویروں میں گویا جان بھر دی ہے ترازو دل میں ہو جاتی ہے وہ کافر نظر دی ہے
اداؤں سے عیاں ہے لذت درد جگر دی ہے کھلیں گے راز اس دُرسے دھن پر مہر کردی ہے
یہ تصویریں بظاہر ساکت و خاموس رہی ہیں
مگر اہل نظر بوجھیں نو دل کی باب کہتی ہیں

کرشمہ ہے یہ ارباب ہم کی سعی ہم کا جنہیں احساس نک ناک نہ تھا کچھ سادی و غم کا
دلوں پر عکس کھنچ آیا تھا جن کے حسن عالم کا قلم کو نقس از پر ہو گیا تھا اسم اعظم کا
چٹانوں پر شباب و حسن کی موجیں رواں کر دیں
فسوں کاروں نے رنگوں میں مقید بجلیاں کر دیں

جہاں جھوڑا خونی سے جادواں بیغام کی خاطر خوسامد اہل دولت کی نہیں کی نام کی خاطر
 نہ جہانی حاکم در در کی کسی انعام کی خاطر حئے بھی کام کی خاطر مرے بھی کام کی خاطر
 زمانہ کی جبین پر عکس چھوڑے ہیں نگاہوں کے
 رہنگے نقش ان کے نام مٹ جائینگے ساہوں کے

Translation

With the blood of the heart unique figures have been drawn,
 Their charm throws into the background the magical art of Mānī.
 Human imagination has personified itself in the forms of beauty and
 The aptitude for nudity is disguised in the veil of religion. [youth,
 The garden of Ajanta lies as if in the kingdom of geniū,
 The expression of emotion has reached its zenith here.

The enthusiasts found an excuse to exhibit their artistic skill,
 In their passion they exhausted the treasures of Spring's beauty.
 They have painted the impatience of their heart on the rock-wall,
 And taught Art to mirror their feelings.
 They have preserved the story of love in the bosom of the rock ;
 The courageous have thus laid the foundation of an everlasting
 world.

The artists have given life to the images,
 They have given them amorous glances which pierce the heart :
 Their gestures indicate that they relish the pain of love,
 But artists have sealed their lips lest they should disclose the inner
 Apparently the paintings are silent and speechless, [secret.
 But when those who are initiated question them they tell the story
 of the heart.

The paintings are a monument of the continuous effort of those
 high-minded persons,
 Who had extinguished their feelings for pleasure and sorrow ;
 The beauty of the universe was impressed upon their hearts,
 Their brush had learnt the significance of the Divine name :
 They have set streams of beauty and youth to flow on the hills ;
 The wizards have concealed electric effect in colours.

They willingly forsook the world for the eternal message,
 Did not flatter the wealthy personages in order to acquire fame ;
 Never disgraced themselves by going from door to door for re-
 They lived for art and died for art. [ward,
 They have left the impress of their vision on the forehead of Time,
 Their work will survive while the names of kings will disappear.

Vajd has written lyric poems as well, which have considerable sweetness, but he is more a realist than a visionary in his ideas. For instance, poems like *The Nurse*, or *The Wine-Tavern* are more typical of his mental outlook and technical skill than any of his *Ghazals*. In India the profession of a nurse has not become popular as yet. Vajd's poem is an appeal to the fair sex to take up this sacred duty in order to ameliorate human suffering. He has described the life of a nurse in these enchanting lines :

گلوں سے قبل اوس آتی ہے نیرا مسہ دھالنے کو	نسیم آتی ہے سب سے بیشتر تیرے جگانے کو
تجھے ہمارے جوڑا کج جہاں پر نہیں جاتی ہے	سحر ملبوس نورانی قمر سے مانگ لاتی ہے
برے آنے سے گل ہنستے ہیں کلیاں مسکراتی ہیں	ہوائیں مس و غنبر بار تیرے ساتھ آتی ہیں
تری آمد نہیں کم آمد ناد بہاری سے	دل ہر مردہ پاتے ہیں رھائی بے فراری سے
نری رفتار میں ہے موجزن طوفان رعنائی	بلا کی دلنشینی ہے تری گفتار نے یائی
اگر اکسیر کا نہاں ہے تیری غمگساری میں	نہاں جذبات مہر و لطف ہیں خدمتگزاری میں
نظام دھر کو بھا ناز اپنی بے مثالی پر	
عمل تیرا مگر ہے خندہ زن اس کج خیالی پر	

Translation

The zephyr comes to wake thee first,
 The morning-dew washes thy face before attending to flowers :
 Dawn brings the white garment from the Moon,
 And after dressing thee spreads its light on the universe.
 The sweet smells and fragrant air accompany thee,
 At thy visit the buds smile and flowers bloom.
 The withered hearts are relieved of restlessness,
 Thy arrival is not less welcome than the arrival of the spring-air.
 There is an indescribable charm in thy speech,
 In thy gait is the rhythm of a sea nymph.
 The feelings of love and affection are concealed in thy service,
 Thy sympathy works like an elixir in curing the malady.
 The law of the universe was proud of its unique effectiveness,
 But thy work laughs at this conceit.

The Wine-Tavern, although suggesting rakishness by its title, is very philosophical in its ideas and reflects the deep thinking capacity of the poet. I give some lines of this poem :

بے حقیقت فرق صبح و سام تھا	میکدہ میں ایک ہی ہنگام تھا
چشم ساقی کا کھلا بیغام تھا	جس کو پاس ہوش ہے اندر نہ آئے
وقف عشرت ہر دل نا کام تھا	عام تھی تقسیم لطف زندگی
ہر طرف ذکر مٹے گلفام تھا	قصہ توبہ رہا بیرون در
فکر عقبی اک خیال خام تھا	حال مستی کی عیاں بھی پختگی

بزم میں رندوں کے تیور الامان جو تھا اپنے وقت کا خیام تھا
 نغمہ بیرا بھی حیات جاوداں
 زندگی پر موت اک الزام تھا

Translation

Time had lost its relativity in the wine-tavern,
 The difference of morning and evening was unreal.
 Whoever possesses his senses should not come inside,
 This was the clear order of the maid of the tavern.
 The distribution of the pleasures of life was uniform,
 Every disappointed heart was enjoying eternal pleasure.
 The doctrine of repentance was driven out of the door,
 All were talking of the rose-coloured wine.
 The state of inebriation indicated the maturity of mind,
 The care for the next life was a childish idea.
 The glances of drunkards in the assembly were awe-inspiring,
 Each of them was a Khayyām of his time.
 The eternal life was playing a sweet note,
 Death appeared to be a false charge on existence.

In this brief review it is difficult to deal with every aspect of Vajd's poetry, but as a considerable number of his poems have been published in the form of a book entitled *Lahū Tarang*, I would suggest the study of this book to those who are interested in his verses.

The third poet of Hyderabad whom I have selected for review is Ṣāhib-zāda Muḥammad 'Alī Maikash. He belongs to the royal family, and has therefore an inherent aptitude for poetry. He is an alumnus of the Osmania University, for which he has great affection, and several of his poems are addressed to the University dons and students, and describe the University and its environs. Maikash is young, but he is a prolific writer, his verse being characterised by spontaneity, freshness of ideas, and simplicity of language. He does not belong to any particular school; he writes *Ghazals* in the classical style and songs in the modern. But there is no tendency towards vulgarism in his modern poems. As a specimen of his work in the latter style I quote some stanzas from *Kisī-kī-Yād*, the Remembrance of a Friend :

آنس شرر سوں کی بھڑکا مہ کوئی
 سنے میں دل زار کو گرماتا ہے کوئی
 طوفان بلا میرے لئے لانا ہے کوئی
 یاد آتا ہے کوئی
 جلوں سے نظر آتی ہیں معمور فضائیں
 مستانہ کئے دیتی ہیں مستانہ ادائیں

آنکھوں میں نظر بن کے سا جاتا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی
جب جوشِ محب میں نکل جاتی ہیں آہیں
گڑ جاتی ہیں رخ پر مری درِ سوقِ نگاہیں
دنیا ئے تصور میں بھی سرمانا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی
پھر جوش میں آتی ہے مرے درد کی دنیا
پھر حشرِ ہوا کرتی ہے سیلابِ تمنا
سوئے ہوئے فتنوں کو جگانا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی

Translation

The flame of the fire of love has been set ablaze by someone,
The wounded heart has received warmth from someone,
The storms of affliction are assuaged by someone,
Certainly, I remember someone.

The atmosphere is rich with visions,
The amorous glances intoxicate the sense,
Someone takes her abode like a vision in the eye ;
Certainly, I remember someone.

When through excess of love sighs escape from my heart,
And my eager glances are fixed on her face ;
Even in the world of imagination someone blushes ;
Certainly, I remember someone.

The world of my grief breaks into a tumult,
My restless emotion causes a resurrection,
Someone awakes the dormant feelings,
Indeed, I remember my friend.

In the third stanza the line :

دنیا ئے تصور میں بھی سرمانا ہے کوئی

‘ Even in the world of imagination someone blushes,’
exhibits the poet’s artistic conception in a vivid style.

Maikash has written several poems in the style of Iqbal, among which *Jawānī kā Gīt* is very typical of the ‘doctrine of action’ as inculcated by the latter poet. I quote here a few lines of this song also :

میں اسنے ذوقِ آرزو سے زندگی بناؤنگا
شرارِ شوق کی نڑپ میں سمع دل جلاؤنگا

جہاں کی سختیوں کو کھیلے ہوئے اٹھاؤنگا
ترقیوں کی ناہراہ پر قدم بڑھاؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

ریاب دل میں مرنے سے نغمہ زار زندگی
رگوں میں نہ رہی ہے ایک جوئار زندگی
نفس کی بے قرار یوں میں ہے قرار زندگی
قدم قدم بہ لاکھ مشکلیں ہوں مسکراؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

ہیں جس جو کی بے قراریاں نظر کے نور میں
ہے انکسار کی جھلک شباب کے عروور میں
چھی ہوئی ہے ایک نڈب سکون کے وورور میں
میں زندگی کی وسعتوں نہ کیف بکے چھاؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

Translation

I shall shape my life according to my ideals,
I shall light the candle of the heart with the flame of my search,
I shall bear the hardships of the world in a sportive mood,
I shall quicken my pace on the path of progress.

I shall sing the song of action,
I shall build a new world,
For I am still young.

The melody of life is vibrating in the rebeck of my heart,
The stream of life is flowing in my veins;
My impatient breathing shows the fullness of life,
I should smile even if there were obstacles at every step.

I shall sing the song of action,
I shall build a new world,
For I am still young.

The restlessness of search exists in the light of my vision,
 There is a glimpse of selflessness in the conceit of my youth,
 In the amplitude of perseverance there is concealed the potential
 force for action,

I shall dominate the expanses of life like one drunk with wine.
 I shall sing the song of action,
 I shall build a new world,
 For I am still young.

In this poem the line—میں زندگی کی وسعتوں یہ کیفِ بن کے چھاؤنگا—is a vivid picture of the unfettered emotion and inebriated mood of youth.

Again, the line—ہے انکار کی جھلکِ شباب کے عروروں میں—indicates artistry of a subtle type.

To widen the scope of Urdu poetry Maikash has also written poems in the form of English *sonnets*, but they are absolutely oriental in conception and feeling. As an illustration I quote his sonnet, *Moon and Poet*.

دھان کے کھیتوں کی جانب دیکھتا ہے بار بار رب کے مارے ہوؤں کی طرح چہرہ زرد ہے
 اس کی بہاتی بتاتی ہے کہ دل میں درد ہے چاند بھی شاید ہے لذتِ آشنائے انتظار
 قلب کی گہرائیوں میں آرزو مستور ہے بس گیا ہے جب سے فکرستانِ ہستی میں کوئی
 آگ سی بھڑکا رہا ہے دل کی بستی میں کوئی قلبِ شاعرِ جوشِ احساس سے مجبور ہے

اُپر سے چہن چہن کے گرتی ہیں شعاعیں ماہی
 حسنِ منظرِ برِ حجابِ نور ہے چھایا ہوا
 ڈر گیا ہے چہرہ گیتی یہ اک رنگیں نقاب
 ہے سکوتِ شام میں آتشِ نوائی آہ کی
 روحِ ڈرہاتی ہوئی قلبِ گرمایا ہوا
 شاعرِ تختل میں گویا چھلکتی ہے سراب

Translation

She is looking at the rice fields often and often,
 Her face is pale like that of a love-sick person,
 Her quivering indicates that she has pain in the heart,
 The Moon also perhaps enjoys the feelings resulting from waiting.

Desire is concealed in the depth of the heart,
 Since the world of my thought has been occupied by someone :
 In the habitation of my mind someone is kindling fire,
 The poet's heart is inundated by the flood of emotion.

Rays of the moon are falling after being sifted with clouds,
 A veil of light has enveloped the beautiful vision,
 A coloured scarf has concealed the face of the earth.

In the silence of evening the fiery voice of the sigh
Has tormented the soul and heated the brain (lit. heart) ;
The cup of imagination is, as it were brimful of the wine of ecstasy.

Maikash has written some charming poems on the phenomena of nature and scenic beauty, among which *The Moon-lit Night* and *The Embankment of the Sāgar* have become very popular and are widely read and recited. The recent events of the world have caused a revolution in the ideas of the poet, for he sees that the opulence, prosperity, and the so-called culture of the powerful nations are based upon the exploitation of the weak. His new poems therefore reflect feelings of disgust and anger at the supercilious behaviour and lack of sympathy of those in authority, and point out that a change in the political and economic outlook of the world is absolutely necessary for the well-being of mankind. His refined artistic taste and beautiful language may be admired even in such poems. I quote a few lines from the poem entitled *Behind the Screen* :

ان اردوں کے پیچھے کیسے محسوس ہو گیا جانے	رنگ و بو کے متوالے حسن و نور کے دیوانے
کتنے طوفان جھول رہے ہیں شاخ گل کے جھولنہ میں	کتنی بہاریں توڑ رہی ہیں دم ان ہنس مکھ بیہولوں میں
کتنے طوفان انگڑائی لیتے ہیں اس کے سینے میں	شبنم جو آسودہ نظر آتی ہے کول کے سفینے میں
کتنے بھوکوں کی آہیں ہیں کھیتوں کی سادابی میں	کتنے بے بس پیاسوں کے ٹوٹے ارمان ہیں گلابی میں
انسانوں کے روپ میں کتنی رنہ نعنیں پھرتی ہیں	ٹوٹتے تاروں کو لے کر کتنی نگاہیں گرتی ہیں
چاندنی راتیں آتی ہیں کھوجاتی ہیں قبرستانوں میں	برکھار مام کرتی پھرتی ہے اب ویرانوں میں

حسن ملیگا نظاروں میں اب وہ گھڑیاں آئینگی
انہی ہاتھوں انہی بہاریں واپس لائی جائیں گی

O thou fond of fragrance and colour, O thou mad after brilliance
and splendour,

Dost thou know the horrors behind these scenes ?

How many springs have lost their bloom because of the flowers
which are smiling ?

How many storms are gathering in the gentle sway of the rose-bush?

Dew-drops which appear to be enjoying rest in the lotus-cups,

Many a tumult is being planned in their heart.

The craving of how many thirsty souls is reflected in the wine-
cups ?

The toil of how many hungry persons is concealed in the fertility
of the crops ?

How many visions lose their upward ascent and fall down like
meteors ?

How many human being walk about as living corpses ?

The spring is seen in mourning in desolate nooks,

The moon-lit nights come and disappear in graveyards.

The time is coming when beauty will regain its seat.

The 'springs' will be restored only by personal effort.

The fourth poet is Makhdūm Muḥī-ud-Dīn, who is a communist in regard to his political views. But he is most sincere in his belief rather religious-minded, and hopeful of a better future for humanity. He received his education at the Osmania University where he began writing verse as well. After obtaining his M.A. degree he served for several years as Lecturer in Urdu at the City College, but the political conditions and consequent misery among the poor classes of the country stirred feelings of sympathy in his heart, and he resigned his lectureship for the service of the community. He is now the Vice-President of the Hyderabad Railway Employee's Union, and the President of the Textile Workers' Union.

Makhdūm is a poet by instinct and talent. In transmitting the feelings of a heart exuberant with emotion, the subtle charm of his expression may be noticed even in those poems which he wrote during his University life. To show his exceptional skill as an artist I quote certain stanzas from his poems entitled *Tūr*, 'Ali Sāgar and *Intizār* (Expectation). I give two stanzas from the *Tūr* first :

حیا کے بوجھ سے جب ہر قدم ہر لغزشیں ہوں فضا میں منتشر رنگیں بدن کی لرزشیں ہوں
ریاب دل کے تاروں میں مسلسل جنبسں ہوں خفاے راز کی ہر لطف باہم کوششیں ہوں
یہیں کھیتوں میں پانی کے کنارے یاد ہے اب بھی
بلائے فکر فردا ہم سے کوسوں دور ہوتی بھی سرور سرمندی سے زندگی معمور ہوتی بھی
ہاری خلوت معصوم رسک طور ہوتی تھی ملک جھولاجھلاتے تھے غزلخواں حور ہوتی تھی
یہیں کھیتوں میں پانی کے کنارے یاد ہے اب بھی

Translation

Through the weight of feelings of honour when the feet stumbled
at each step,
When the trembling of the resplendant body caused waves in the
air,
The strings of the rebeck of my heart vibrated continuously as if
in response.
The delightful plans of concealing the secret were thought out
jointly,
In these fields by the side of the river : do you remember ?

The toil of thinking for the morrow remained miles away from us,
Our life was filled as with eternal joy.
Our innocent privacy was the envy of (the divine union) of Mount
Angels served us in the swing and *houris* sang ghazals, [Sinā'ī,
In these fields by the side of the river : do you remember ?

Similarly these lines from the *Morning at 'Ali Sāgar* :

سندر میں پجاری لگے ناقوس بجائے وہ ان کے بھجن پیارے وہ گیت اون کے سہائے
تاریکی سب اوڑھ کے رخصت ہوا عصیاں تقدیس کے جاری ہوئے ہر سمت ترانے
انگڑائیاں لیتا ہوا طوفان جوانی ملتا ہوا آنکھیں اٹھا فتنوں کو جگائے

Translation

In the temple the votaries began to sound the horn,
How impressive their hymns and how sweet their songs !
Sin departed, having draped itself in the black cloak of night,
The musical notes of sanctity resounded in all directions.
The stormy youth rose up yawning,
Rubbing his eyes to awaken amorous glances.

Finally, the following lines from *Intizār* which besides emotion exhibit considerable religious ardour :

شب کے جاگے ہوئے ناروں کو بھی نیند آئے لگی	آب کے آنے کی اک آس تھی اب حائے لگی
صبح نے سیج سے اٹھنے ہی لی انگڑائی	اوصبا نو بھی جو آئی تو اکلے آئی
میرے محبوب مری نیند اڑانے والے	میرے مسجود مری روح نہ چھانے والے
آ بھی جانا کہ مرے سجدوں کا ارمان نکلے	آ بھی جانا درے قدموں پہ مری جان نکلے

Translation

The stars which had kept awake the whole night began to sleep,
I had a slight hope of thy coming, but that was lost now.
Dawn yawned as she rose from her bed,
O zephyr, thou hast come, but come alone.
My beloved, who hast robbed me of my sleep,
My adored, who hast prevailed upon my soul,
If thou hadst come, the object of my prostrations would have been fulfilled;

If thou hadst come, I should have laid down my life at thy feet.

Sincerity, religious fervour, and love of humanity being the salient features of Makhdūm's character, he expresses his ideas about the last world-war in a very effective style :

برط نواز بزم الوہی ادھر ہو آ	دعوت دہ پیام عبودی ادھر تو آ
انسانیت کے خون کی ارراناں ہو دیکھ	اس آسان والے کی بیداریاں تو دیکھ
معصومہٴ حباب کی بیچارگی ہو دیکھ	دسبھوس سے حسن کی غارنگری ہو دیکھ
خود اپنی زندگی سے سبیاں ہے زندگی	قربانگہٴ موب نہ قصاں ہے زندگی
انسان رہ سکے کوئی اس احباب بھی ہے	اس فتنہ رامں کا کوئی یاسباب بھی ہے

O lute-player of the divine assembly, come hither,
O apostle of God's message, come hither :
Look at the cheapness of human blood,
Wonder at the alertness of the One in heaven.
Look at the helplessness of innocent life,
Look at the ravage of beauty by the hand of lust :
'Life' itself despairs of its existence,
Upon the alter of 'death' life is dancing.
Is there any zone where man can survive ?
Is there any guardian in this vicious world ?

But Makhdūm's poetry does not indicate 'frustration.' In the darkest hour he keeps up his spirits to guide the forlorn. For instance, listen to the soul-encouraging music of this song :

ترے ہمراہی کھو گئے رے مسافر مسافر چلے چل
نہ جانے وہ کیا ہو گئے رے مسافر مسافر چلے چل
تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
مسافر

چلے چل چلے چل چلے چلے چلے چلے
اندھیرے میں اب ساہ کیا دیکھتا ہے دیا بجھ گیا ہے
بہر حال چل رات کیا دیکھا ہے دیا بجھ گیا ہے
تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
مسافر

چلے چل چلے چل چلے چلے چلے چلے
سمجھ موت کی وادیوں سے گزرنا حلا جارہا ہے
سحر کے تعاقب میں گرنا ابھرنا حلا جارہا ہے
تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
مسافر

چلے چل چلے چل چلے چلے چلے چلے

Translation

O Traveller thy companions are lost,
Traveller, go on, go on :
O Traveller I do not know whither thy companions have gone,
Traveller, go on, go on.
Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
Traveller,
Go on, go on, go on, go on.
Why dost thou seek company in darkness ?
The lamp is extinguished.
Go on, why dost thou feel the gloom of night ?
The lamp is extinguished.
Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
Traveller,
Go on, go on, go on, go on.
Consider that thou art passing through the valley of death,
Going on, going on.
In the search of Dawn thou art falling and rising :
Going on, going on.
Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
Traveller,
Go on, go on, go on, go on.

The force of Makhdūm's verse when he is in an angry mood can be judged from such poems as *Bāghī*, *Jang*, *Mashriq*, *Maut-kā-Gīt*, *Haveli*, *Ghar* and *Zulf-i-Chalipā*, which are all published and included in the *Surkh Savēra*. In *Mashriq* (Orient) he writes :

ایک قبرستان جبرین ہوں ہاں کچھ بھی نہیں ایک بھکتی روح ہے جس کا مکان کوئی نہیں

Translation

A grave-yard silent and dumb,
A wandering soul with no abode for rest.

He condemns religious hypocrisy in the following lines :

کوڑھ کے دھسے چھپا سکتا نہیں روح الامیں بھوک کے سعلے بچھا سکتا نہیں روح الامیں

Translation

The robes of religion cannot conceal the scales of leprosy,
The angel Gabriel cannot quench the flames of hunger.

But even when Makhdūm is in an angry mood his faith in a better future for the world is not shaken, and he addresses the young in words full of hope :

اے جوان سال چہاں جاں چہاں زندگی ساریاں زندگی روح روان زندگی
حس کے تون گرم سے نرم چراغاں زندگی جس کے فردوسی نفس سے گلستاں زندگی
بچایاں حس کی کسریں رارائے حس کے غلام جس کا دل خیبر سکر حس کی نظر ارجس کا تر
ہاں وہ نعمہ چھیڑ حس سے مسکرائے زندگی
نو بجائے ساز الفت اور گائے زندگی

Translation

O youth of the world! the soul of the universe of life,
The driving force of life, the moving spirit of life :
The warmth of whose blood has lit up the lamps of life,
Whose heavenly breath has imparted bloom to the garden of life,
Whose slave-girls are thunderbolts, whose servants earthquakes,
Whose courage has pierced the Khaibar, whose vision is accurate
in aim like the arrows of Arjun :

Ay, sound the note which may make life smile,
Thou art to play the lute of love and life is to sing.

The charm of Makhdūm's verse lies not only in his artistry, but also in his high moral and intellectual qualities. He has studied Russian literature extensively, and has translated a Russian poem. The author of the original poem is Jābir, a native of Tartary. Some lines of the Urdu translation by Makhdūm are given below :

صاف اعداء کے معادل ہے ہمارا رہبر

استالیں

مادر روس کی آنکھوں کا درخشاں تارا
 جس کی نابانی سے روس نے زمین
 وہ زمین اور وہ وطن
 جس کی آزادی کا غماں ہے سہیلوں کا لہو
 جس کی شادوں میں جمہور کا غرو
 ان کی محنت کا اخذ کا محبت کا خمیر
 وہ زمین

اس کا جلال

اس کا حشم

کیا میں اس عزم کا خاموش تماشائی بنوں
 کیا میں حب کو حشم کے حوالے کر دوں
 کیا میں مجاہد نہ بنوں

کیا میں تلوار اٹھاؤں نہ وطن کی خاطر
 میرے پیارے مرے فردوسِ بدن کی خاطر
 ایسے ہنگام قیامت میں مرا نعمتِ نبوی
 کیا مرے ہم وطنوں کے دل میں
 زندگی اور مسرت نکر
 نہ سا حئیگا

قوة العین ! مری حان عزیز

او مرے فرزند

درو پا وہ مرا راہِ یار کہاں ہے لانا
 تسنہ خون مری تلوار کہاں ہے لانا
 مرے نغمے تو وہاں گونج گئے
 ہے مرا فافلہ سالار جہاں اسالین

In this short paper I have tried to present to you some typical specimens of four poets of Hyderabad, who in my humble opinion fairly represent the large group of modern verse-writers of this great city. As regards intellectual qualities and artistic features their work resembles very closely the verse of contemporary poets in British India, for the political, economic, and social problems confronting us here are the same as there. The poetry of young writers has besides freshness a certain force, which gives joy to the intellect and also provides a stimulus to action. Poets have played an important role in directing the course of human progress in other countries recently, for example in Ireland, we therefore entertain great hopes from the poets of our country, particularly when they have had such distinguished predecessors as Iqbāl and Tagore.

SHĀH MUḤAMMAD SULAIMĀN

(1886-1941)

[It takes more than the law to make a lawyer. It takes all sorts of men and women to make one man.—R.A. Hine, *Confessions of an Uncommon Attorney* (1945), 114]

IF, in the year 1940, a well-informed Indian had been asked who in his opinion were the ten or twelve leading intellectuals of this country, it is extremely doubtful whether the name of Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān would have been included in the list. Speaking for myself, I certainly should not have put him down as one of the greatest minds in India. But in March, 1941, when he died and the light of day was thrown upon his remarkable career and achievements, I doubt if any thinking Indian would have omitted his name. This is due I think to two reasons. The first is that Sulaimān never sought cheap popularity. He was an intellectual, working in his own sphere, entirely unconcerned with the acclamation of the multitude. Secondly, not being a political leader, his fame, such as it was, was confined to the United Provinces, where he lived and worked; and thus one can quite understand why it is that immediately after his death the reputation of Sulaimān began to grow almost to legendary proportions.

It is therefore proper for us, five years after his death, to examine critically his life, work and intellectual achievements, and to arrive at a proper conclusion with sobriety of judgment.

Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān was born in 1886 in the Maḥmūdābād Tahsil, A'zamgadh, U.P. He received his early education at Jaunpūr, that great home of Islamic scholarship. His father, Maulawī Muḥammad Uthmān, was a leading lawyer in the district and was noted for his mastery of details and legal acumen. One of the ancestors of Sulaimān was the famous author of *Shams-i-Bāzigha*, a work on physics written in the time of Newton. Later, in 1902, he joined the Muir Central College, Allāhābād, and Dr. S. N. A. Ja'fri tells us that one of his professors called him a shy girl (*Deccan Times*, 28 March 1941), because he was extremely unostentatious and retiring in his character. In 1906, he obtained first class Honours in Mathematics at the B.A. examination and was placed first in the University in order of merit. After this brilliant performance, he was selected as a Government of India scholar and sent to England. He joined Christ's College, Cambridge, and took the Mathematical Tripos in 1909

and the Law Tripos in 1910. As regards the degree that he took at Cambridge, there is some difference of opinion. Mr. M. B. Ahmad has given the facts as I have stated them, but I have read elsewhere that he took the Moral Sciences Tripos as well. It seems to me however that the statement made by Mr. Ahmad is more likely to be correct. He must have taken Part I of the Mathematical Tripos and Part II of the Law Tripos. In 1910, he was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple and in the same year he took the LL.D. degree of Dublin University.

Like many other truly great Indians he also appeared for the I.C.S. examination and failed. He did not care to appear again, and by not getting an entry into the steel frame which governs India he obtained the opportunity of serving his country better. Of him it can be truly said that the loss of the Indian Civil Service was the gain of the country.

Returning to India, he practised for about a year with his father, and in 1912 he migrated to the Allahabad High Court. His practice grew rapidly and Sir Tej Bahādur Sapru testifies to the fact that it took very little time for experienced lawyers to realize that a new star had arisen, destined to overshadow the reputations of most of them.

It is indeed extraordinary that within eight years of his joining the Allahabad High Court he not only had a leading practice at the bar, but also acquired the reputation of having a keen and analytical mind. In 1920, at the age of 34 he was called upon to act as a Judge of Allahabad High Court in the vacancy created by Mr. Justice Ra'uf's proceeding on leave. He acted again in 1921 and 1922, and in 1923 he was appointed a permanent judge of that High Court. Almost from the very beginning, he was noted for his unfailing courtesy, great patience and extraordinary grasp. In the year 1932, after having acted several times as the Chief Justice, Sulaimān was appointed the permanent Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court at the comparatively early age of 46. He thus became the first Indian Chief Justice of one of the leading High Courts of India.

Another significant fact is that in the year 1930 he was appointed as Chairman of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee. It is well known that about that time in the North-West Frontier Province there had occurred serious disturbances and much loss of life had ensued. Sulaimān was appointed President of the Commission of Enquiry and his report is reputed to be a document of a great independence and fearlessness. The report was never published but apparently the Government gave effect to its recommendations. It is therefore surprising that, this report notwithstanding, he was still chosen to fill the high office of Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. This fact alone speaks volumes for the high regard in which he must have been held.

About the same time, he was appointed a member of the Capitation Rates Tribunal, along with Lords Dunedin and Tomlin, where again he distinguished himself by his capacity to understand the intricate details of

the enquiry. The result of the labours of the tribunal was that the British Government agreed to bear a certain amount of the military expenditure incurred in India.

When the Federal Court came into being in 1937, he was appointed one of the Judges, with Sir Maurice Gwyer as Chief Justice and Mr. M. B. Jayakar as a brother Judge. He worked only for a short while, for on March 12, 1941 he died after a brief illness, universally mourned as a judge, scholar and gentleman.

As Chief Justice he exhibited great independence of character. An episode which made history in the United Provinces is related by Mr. Ahmad, who has written the longest account of his life in *Great Men of India* (edited by Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams and published in the Home Library Club, by the *Times of India*). It is said that once, in the Legislature of the United Provinces, questions were asked about judicial acts performed by the judges and particularly in regard to the appointment of Official Receivers. The President of the Council allowed such questions but Sulaimān refused to answer any of them, and maintained that under the Letters Patent the responsibility involved was not that of the Government but entirely of the High Court. That being the case, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court refused to entertain any questions which in anyway interfered with the absolute independence of the judiciary.

His work as an educationist and as a social reformer also requires mention. In 1928 when quarrels arose between Šāhebzāda Aftāb Aḥmad Khān and Dr. Zīāuddīn Aḥmad regarding the administration of the Aligarh University, Sulaimān was appointed Vice-Chancellor. His appointment was hailed by everyone as of great importance to the Muslim community and they also expected that the University affairs would be put in order. It is a sad commentary on our national life that even so great a man as Sulaimān was helpless to do much good, but at the sacrifice of his hard-earned leisure he continued to serve the Muslim University for some time. Although he was not able to put matters absolutely right, he did two things which will always be remembered. First, he framed new rules of service and superannuation, and secondly, he obtained a large grant from Government to the extent of about fifteen lacs.

Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān was connected in addition with a large number of educational and social organizations. It is impossible to give a full list, but a number of important institutions which he served are mentioned by Mr. Aḥmad (p. 625). He also presided over Educational Conferences and delivered convocation addresses at the Universities of Dacca, Aligarh, Hyderabad and Agra. A complete collection of his addresses and speeches would be most valuable but unfortunately for us it has not yet been published. His style was simple and he consciously avoided rhetoric. He disliked bombastic expressions, or long periods of flowery language. He thought out carefully what he had to say and spoke in the simplest possible language, arranging his argument in logical order,

as was to be expected of a jurist with a mathematical training. It has been well said that his addresses savour more of the Gandhian method of less talk and more work ; they exemplify the modern spirit of simplicity, lucidity and logical precision. From his numerous addresses and speeches I shall select only two for my purpose to illustrate the character of his mind and thought.

He delivered the Convocation Address to the Agra University in 1938. In this address he dealt with the problem of the over-production of graduates in the different universities. In his opinion the number of graduates, having regard to the size of the country, was not great and the solution which was generally proposed, *viz.*, to reduce the number of graduates, was entirely wrong. "The object of Universities was not merely to produce earning machine." Education had higher values to consider and cultural standards should never be overlooked. The remedy, therefore, was not to restrict education but rather to expand trade, commerce and industry in order to absorb all the available talent in the country. In this address he also made it clear that for a long time to come it was extremely necessary for education to be State-aided. In the present condition of India it is useless to expect private effort adequately to tackle the problem of mass education.

The next address to which I should like to refer is his address at the All-India Educational Conference at Udaipur, delivered on the 27th December 1940. (This is reported in the *Times of India* of 28-12-44). Considering the problem of education as a whole he conceded that it was a very big problem, but he was opposed to the making of changes which might raise a number of unforeseen difficulties. He was also entirely opposed to the emphasis on vocational bias in school education to the detriment of cultural values. He saw clearly that if the mind was trained properly, a young man could set his hand to anything that came in his way ; and he spoke of the value of home training and pre-school education. At one place he says that schools are not to be converted into "little manufactories supplying child labour." It is possible that he was thinking of plans which, like the Wardha Scheme, put a different ideal before the country ; and, true humanist as he was, he pointed out the dangers of exaggerating the value of the vocational bias in education.

The next point he dealt with was the difficulty of enormous numbers. The standard of English had gone down, but he took the view that it is not necessary to be greatly concerned about that. It was due to the introduction of the study of the vernaculars and the increase in the bulk of the syllabus due to the addition of scientific subjects. As a matter of detail, he was opposed to the teaching of English literature as a compulsory subject at the B.A. stage, but did not object to a paper on General English.

It is proper that Sulaimān should primarily be considered as a jurist and I shall now turn to some of his judgments. He took his seat as officiating judge for the first time on the 15th April 1920, and his first reported

judgments are to be found in 1920 (42 All. 514 & 515). These are two small judgments of about half a page each, and they were the judgments of the Court which consisted of Mr. Justice Tudball and Mr. Justice Sulaimān. His first *separate* judgment is to be found in the same volume (42 All. 549, 553). This judgment is not long and the point is not important, but it shows two things clearly. First, lucidity of expression and secondly, grasp of first principles. From the official reports it appears that he frequently sat with two judges, Tudball and Kanhaiya Lal JJ. His first Full Bench decision appeared in 1922 (44 All. 19).

On the 4th April 1923, he took his seat as a permanent judge in the Allahabad High Court and from that time onwards his judgments appear frequently. This is not the time or the occasion to deal fully with his judgments, for I must not forget that the readers of this Journal are not principally concerned with the technicalities of law. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a few judgments which are of general interest.

In 1924 (46 All. 94) an interesting case arose which shows his independence of mind and clarity of thought. A Hindu merchant had mixed pig's fat with ghee and was prosecuted under Section 272, I.P.C. The material part of the Section runs as follows: "Whoever adulterates any article of food or drink so as to make such article *noxious as food*," etc., is liable to punishment. Sulaimān J. held that the merchant was not liable. In his judgment he says that he had to consider the expression "*noxious as food*" he could not give to it the meaning of repugnant to the feeling of Hindus or Musalmans. One can well imagine what a flutter this decision must have caused in the U.P., but it shows that precision of thought for which Mr. Justice Sulaimān was noted, and the correctness of the judgment can hardly be questioned.

During the year 1925 he delivered what appears to me to be one of his most important judgments on Muhammadan Law (47 All. 823, 824 to 848). In this important case he laid down a number of propositions of law which are of great importance, both legally as well as socially. He decided, first, that where a Sunnī husband was married to a Shī'a wife, on a suit being filed, the law of the defendant should be applied. In this case the defendant was the wife, and therefore the Shī'a law was applied. Secondly, he held that such a marriage was perfectly valid and in this part of the judgment he upheld the authority of the famous Shī'a text, *Sharā'i'-ul-Islām*. Thirdly, he decided that Shī'a law being the law of the land, no experts or Mujtahids could go into the box as witnesses and give expert evidence. Thus he cut the ground under the feet of the reactionary Ulema and laid down the salutary rule that the judges of the High Courts are not concerned with the opinion of Ulema; it is for the court to consider the texts for itself and lay down the law. It will be remembered that in this important point, Their Lordships of the Privy Council have approved of his dictum in the well-known *Masjid Shahīd Ganj* case. Fourthly a Shī'a girl marrying a Sunnī husband has, on the attainment of puberty,

the option of repudiating the marriage. Fifthly, wherever there was conflict of opinion among the ancient jurists, it was the duty of the court to apply that rule which was in consonance with justice, equity and good conscience. He held that hard and fast rules should not be laid down regarding this question and it was always for the court to consider all the circumstances and arrive at a proper decision. It may be observed in passing that this tendency in Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān is in consonance with the earlier texts and traditions of the Prophet.

In 1926 (48 All. 648) a learned judgment on the Hindu law of succession is reported. In 1931 (53 All. 963) there is a learned judgment on questions connected with the law of contract, acknowledgment and limitation. Then we come to 1933 (55 All. 743). Here again we have one of his most important judgments regarding points of law which are of great interest to the Muslim community. The facts in this case were as follows :

A Muslim husband was not on good terms with his wife. He had ill-treated her and kept a mistress in his own house. She therefore went away to her parental home. The husband filed a suit for restitution of conjugal rights (i.e., obtaining her from her parent's house and bringing her back to his own). Sulaimān J. decided that a man had the right to claim restitution of conjugal rights, but even after a period of matrimonial relations the wife is entitled to claim *mahr*. He therefore passed a decree for conjugal rights, but made it conditional upon the payment of the whole of the dowry. He also ordered that the wife should be allowed to reside in a separate house and be provided with two servants, because the husband had kept a mistress in the house.

Thus, even before 1939, when greater rights were given to women in matrimonial matters, Mr. Justice Sulaimān took a very independent attitude and firmly established the right of a wife to decent treatment.

In this case he also laid down that where there was conflict of opinion among the jurists, two rules must be followed. First, generally speaking, later authorities were to be preferred to earlier ones, in order that the law may not be unduly disturbed ; but at the same time, the modern judge should have a right to deal independently with the matter and choose that text which was in consonance with justice, having regard to the social conditions of the time. At page 756, he makes an interesting observation that marriage in Islam has also a religious significance, quite apart from its being a mere civil contract.

In 1936 (48 All. 889) he dealt with a community of Mussalmans who were converted to Islam and had retained family customs contrary to the provisions of the Muhammadan Law of inheritance. He held the custom as duly proved and gave effect to it.

In 1937, ([1937] All. 609.) discussing the law of gifts, he explained that under certain circumstances actual physical delivery of possession was not necessary.

For the purposes of this article, I have read several of the decisions of Sulaimān J. and gone over most of the judgments reported in the official series. While I do not wish to dilate upon the niceties of the law, I should like to say what the chief characteristics of Sulaimān's judgments were. First, he stated the facts clearly. Secondly, he formulated the questions of law and analysed them. Thirdly, he addressed himself to the task of answering them. Fourthly, he gave, a complete, precise and logical answer to every question that was raised. Fifthly, he always tried to write in a simple and lucid style, without any attempt at writing a language encumbered with unnecessary metaphors or with rhetorical flights.

In the Federal Court, his judgments are to be found in the first two volumes (1939 and 1940); in the beginning of the third volume (1941) we find tributes to his memory.

VOL. I, 1939 :

- (1) (1939) F.C.R. 18-120, 57-96 *imp* :
- (2) Do 138.
- (3) Ibid., 163 (Dis.).
- (4) Ibid., 201 (Dis.).

VOL. II, 1940 :

- (5) 61,
- (6) 84,
- (7) 110, 138-167.
- (8) 188 (Dis.), p. 204.

His judgments in the Federal Court are the fruits of his maturest style. Most of them deal with technical matters and I do not propose to discuss any of them, but an illustration of his independence of mind may be found at pages 205 and 206 of 1940, F.C.R. Many of his judgments in the Federal Courts were dissenting judgments, but even where he did not disagree he reserved to himself the right to express his own views in his own language, and his reasons given in that case were difficult to answer. He often dissented, but some of his dissents, like those of Mr. Justice Holmes, have become classical, and with the greatest respect to the other members of the Court, it is possible to assert that in some of his dissenting judgments will be found the seeds of future law. To one of his judgments in the Federal Court, (1939) F.C.R. 18, 57-96, a remarkable tribute has been paid by Mr. J. H. Morgan (*Great Men of India*, p. 624).

"Now I have just been reading the judgments of the Federal Court at Delhi in that important case. One of those judgments stands out conspicuous and pre-eminent and may well prove to be the *locus classicus* of the law on the subject. It is a judgment worthy of the highest traditions of the House of Lords as an Appellate Tribunal and of the Privy Council itself. I refer to the brilliant judgment of Mr. Justice Sulaiman. In depth of thought, in breadth of view, in its powers alike

of analysis and synthesis, in grace of style and felicity of expression it is one of the most masterly judgments that I have ever had the good fortune to read. Everyone in India interested in the future development of the Constitution should study it."

It is now necessary to say a few words about his work in other fields, namely, literature and science. In the field of Urdu literature, he edited the *Diwān* of Zauq and the *Diwān* of Mir. (Dr. S. N. A. Ja'fari in *Onward* dated 28th March 1943). His introductions to these are brief but are good illustrations of his critical style. He was a voracious reader of Urdu literature and had a wide acquaintance with both modern and ancient authors.

In the year 1938, when I was on a short visit to Delhi, he told me himself that he was working on the poetry of Anīs and was intending to write a book showing that Anīs was the greatest of the Urdu poets. I greatly treasure the memory of this remark, because that was the first and only occasion I was sustained to meet him. This opinion produced a profound impression upon me and since then many literary men have confessed that there is a great deal of force in the judgment which Sulaimān had pronounced.

Lastly, we come to his scientific activities. I should like to say at the outset that I am not competent to judge the work of Sulaimān in the field of physics or mathematics. When a man becomes great in one sphere, when his intellectual vigour runs in different streams, and when he is gifted with a modest and courteous personality, his work in other fields is almost always liable to be praised unduly. The scientists that I have consulted tell me that Sulaimān's work in physics and mathematics is not of an exceptional quality. It is to be judged on its own merits, as the hobby of a great jurist and no more. I think it would be an injustice to his memory to repeat parrot-like that he was a great mathematician and scientist. I feel certain that he himself would never have made that claim. In his busy life as a practitioner and a judge, he never lost touch with mathematics and as in the case of many a jurist, it was one of the evidences of the versatility of his mind that he was wont to turn from the subtleties of the law to the intricacies of mathematics. It is well known that such intellectual exercise is always refreshing to an energetic mind, and the hobbies of great men must never be confused with their main work in life.

I shall now mention one or two incidents of his life which give us an insight into his character. The late Mr. M. K. Āzād, Bar-at-Law, used to relate a very interesting story about him. It appears that Āzād and Sulaimān were students together at Aligarh. After Sulaimān became the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, he happened to visit Bombay and did not inform Āzād, with whom he wanted to renew his acquaintance. He called at Āzād's house early in the morning without any intimation. It was about 8 A.M. in the morning and Mr. Āzād was having his bath. The servant did not inform him that one Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān

was waiting outside his door.
not admitted into the house.

into an animated conversation with a milkman and one or two other clients. After about half an hour, when Āzād was informed that his old friend was waiting outside, he was filled with confusion and rushed out to meet the great man. Sulaimān, however, was perfectly at home. He had introduced himself as a Vakil from Allahabad and was having a discussion with the others. The discussion probably centred on the price of milk or the rapacity of lawyers. The late Mr. Āzād spoke of this incident and always described it as characteristic of the man.

It is said that he came from a very small village and that it was his habit, even when he had reached the highest station in life, to call personally on all the villagers of his acquaintance and to pay great respect to his poor relations who were older than he.

After his death, Mr. Rashdi in an article related that he was an exquisite host and gives an account of a dinner at which he was the life and soul of the party. An interesting opinion is expressed by Mr. Rashdi that apparently Sulaimān was in favour of the new ideal of the Mussalmans, viz., Pakistan (A. M. Rashdi, *Moslem Voice*, Mar. 22, 1941).

I should now like to give a brief account of the one and only interview I had with him. It was Monday, the 21st February 1938, when I happened to be in Delhi for a cricket meeting. Having a morning free, I decided to call on certain friends in New Delhi and I found myself accidentally opposite the house in which Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān was staying. I had no appointment with him. I did not know him, and had no business with him, and therefore hesitated to waste his time, but thinking that such an opportunity might not easily recur, I went in and saw his secretary. I told him that I was a barrister from Bombay, that I had no work with Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān and that I had no desire to waste his time, but it would be a great pleasure and an honour just to meet him for a short while. The secretary asked me to sit down and went in. Apparently the Judge was working. He laid aside his work for a few minutes and immediately called me in. I met him in his drawing-room and I remember clearly his features and the extraordinary courtesy of the man. He was dressed in a navy blue suit with white stripes. His hair was grizzly and he wore a dress collar. A man of short stature, I should think about 5 feet 5 inches, he was alert, quick and active. He was very fair for an Indian, although not quite so fair as some Kashmiris I have seen, but the most remarkable feature of the man was his eyes. They were restless and piercing. When he looked at you, he seemed to penetrate into the inmost processes of your mind, and after a short spell of restlessness he would gaze into the distance as if he was a scientist visualising a distant goal. They were the eyes of a scientist, not those of a dreamer or a poet or an artist. It is at this meeting that he gave his opinion that Anīs was the greatest of the Urdu poets.

The two best tributes that were paid to him after his death were by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and by Sir Maurice Gwyer. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said (*All. Law Journal*, 1941, Vol. 39, pp. 34-35):

"The year 1941 will pass down as a year of great misfortunes in the history of this court. As your Lordship the Acting Chief Justice was pleased to observe, we met in this court-room only three weeks ago in very sorrowful circumstances. Little did we realize at that time that within three weeks we should be called upon to assemble again to give expression to our feeling of grief and sorrow over the death of Sir John Thom's predecessor in this high and distinguished office. Your Lordship has paid a very rich tribute this morning to Sir Shāh Sulaimān, but it was by no means richer than he deserved. I very well remember the year 1912 when he migrated from Jaunpur to Allahabad, an unknown and obscure practitioner, but it did not take him more than a few months to produce an impression, which as years went on became deeper and deeper and more clear. We all felt that time that a great destiny lay before him. In a few years' time he made his mark so much at the bar that his services were requisitioned not only in some of the big first appeals in this court but in some of the original trials in these provinces.

Nature had endowed him with gifts of an extraordinary character. Possessed of a penetrative intellect, a mind which could dissect and analyse things as very few other minds could, a power of expression and exposition he did not take much time on the bench before he made everyone feel that we had got a judge of unusual ability and unusual gifts. His career on the bench in this court was as brilliant as his career at the bar, and if your Lordships who were his colleagues on the bench are proud that you were associated with him, may not we, who had the honour of practising before your Lordships, think that it was also our privilege at one time to have practised with him in this court? His career, therefore, may truly be said to have been one of uniform brilliance. He earned the respect of everyone for his depth of learning, for his sweep of mind and for the promptness of his decisions."

In the Federal Court, Sir Maurice Gwyer in the course of a reference on the 15th April 1944 spoke as follows (1941) *F.C.R.* 1-2:

"Sir Shah Sulaiman had taken part in every case which has come before this Court, and his judgments are remarkable examples of his power of analysis and of his immense knowledge of case law. He maintained tenaciously his own view of the law and the facts which the Court was considering and was never prepared to acquiesce in a contrary opinion, merely because it happened to be that of the majority of the Court. His agile and fertile mind led him at time to attempt to convince counsel that the arguments for which they were contending before the Court were unsound, forgetting, it may be, that it is not the business of counsel to be thus convinced but this was itself a manifestation of his

keen desire to arrive at the truth and of his instinct to reject any argument which seemed to him irrelevant or unsound. But he was always the soul of courtesy and patience in his relations with the Bar, as in his relations with his own colleagues. He listened patiently to every argument and he never attempted to cut it short, no matter how fallacious he might think it to be."

Another remarkable tribute that was paid to him was by Sir Douglas Young, first a judge of the Allahabad High Court and later the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. He is reported to have said that Sulaimān's mind moved quicker than any other person's that he had ever known (*Deccan Times*, 23rd March 1941). It reminds one of the tribute that C.B. Fry paid to Ranjitsinhji, that he was appreciably quicker than any English cricketer that he had known. In our case the Englishman paid a tribute to the quick mind of an Indian legal genius.

Having studied the life and career of Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān I tried to think of another judge with whom he could fairly be compared. One thinks of Haldane and Sumner, Cardozo and Holmes. Sir Iqbal Ahmad, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, considered him easily one of the greatest judges of the country, fit to be classed with Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Richards Couch, Sir Comer Petheran, Sir Michael Westropp and Sir Raymond West among Europeans, and Mr. Justice Mahmood, Sir Pramoda and Sir Muthusami Iyer, Sir Bhashyam Iyengar, Sir Pramoda Charan Banerjee, Mr. Justice Dawarka Nath Mitter and Mr. Justice Ranade among Indians (*A.L.J.*, 1941, 32). To me it seems, however, that it is impossible to compare him with anyone else with any degree of usefulness. His real importance is not so much that he was great jurist or a great judge or a great scientist or a great literary man, but that he achieved the combination which we call the man of culture, who uses his intellect as an instrument for the perception of truth, legal or scientific, whose æsthetic judgments are based upon sound principles and a historical perspective, and whose ethical conduct is guided by those principles which produce kindness, courtesy, refinement, and modesty. His mind was free from prejudice and he was thus the embodiment of justice. In the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, "he touched the superlative" in the sphere that he had chosen for himself, and that is the greatest tribute that we can pay to his memory.¹

A.A.A. FYZEE.

1. I should like to express my gratitude to my friend and pupil, Mr Syed Sharifuddin, LL.B., who was good enough to lend me *Great Men of India* by Rushbrook Williams which contains a very enlightening article by Mr. M.B. Ahmad, M.A., I.C.S., and a number of cuttings

AN INTERESTING 'ĀDILSHĀHĪ FARMĀN

I WISH to publish here a very interesting 'Ādilshāhī Farmān which was kindly lent to me for deciphering and publication by my friend Mr. S. V. Avalaskar of Alibagh (Kolaba). He owed it to an old hereditary Adhikārī (a type of government servant) family of Cheul, a village not far away from Alibagh. As is evident from the seal¹ at the top and the date at the end, it was issued by Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh on 3rd of Jumāda I of 1051 A.H., corresponding to 1-8-1641 A.D., and was addressed to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ridā, the 'Ādilshāhī commander (Hawālah-dār) of the Goa division (Mu'āmilah). According to the rules of 'Ādilshāhī administration it must have been first sent to the said commander of Goa who, after taking a copy of it there for his information, must have sent the original to Cheul for preservation, as it refers to matters about Cheul. It contains instructions to the commander on four points of contention between Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh on one side and the Portuguese captain of Cheul on the other. I could not with any definiteness trace the name of the Portuguese captain who was in charge of the port of Cheul, or Regdandā as it is called here, on the date of the Farmān. But it is possible that Don Gilianes Noronha, who was the captain of the port of Cheul in 1640, continued in the same office till the date of this Farmān.² The four points discussed in the text of the Farmān are the following: (1) Randaulah-Khān, an 'Ādilshāhī general, has built a ship for his master at Cheul which he wishes to sail to several ports. But the captain of Regdandā (Revdandā) putting forward some excuses, wishes not only to violate the terms of agreement between the two powers, but to create trouble. As, however, the viceroy of Goa wishes to continue mutual friendship and trust, the commander should correspond with him and make him realise that if the least hindrance is placed in the way of the general's ship, Goa will undoubtedly be ravaged at once; for the armies are ready and his devoted service to the kingdom being quite appreciated his cause ought to be

1. For the legend, etc., of the seal vide *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 131.

2. *History and Antiquities of Cheul* JBBRAS, Vol. XII, No. 33, plate I against p. 151.

supported. The viceroy should, therefore, be warned that the captain may be instructed not to hinder the sailing of the ship but to help the general in the same without losing time. His thanks for the help or his complaints will have equal effect. (2) Secondly, the violence in the matter of collecting customs duty on six horses which the said Khān has brought for the Government. Formerly he was asked to subtract the six horses from the quota of 25 horses which the 'Ādilshāhī government was allowed to bring free of any duties, and commit no violence. But the captain puts forward the excuse that had they been unloaded at Dābhol it would have been all right; otherwise it is not unlawful to demand the duty. What does he mean by that? Whether at the port of Dābhol or of Rājapūr or of Goa, wherever the government may choose to buy horses, the purchase is exempted from duty. But the captain by putting forward the excuse wishes to foment trouble. It will bring ruin to his own family in this matter. He, the commander, will therefore correspond with the viceroy in this respect and advise him to warn the captain not to make any unlawful demand. (3) The captain commits violence with respect to the demand of 28,000 Larins. Formerly the port was owned by others; but now it is under this government. How can he demand that sum now? Let the commander correspond with the viceroy in this matter also and make him send a written warning to the captain that he may not demand any money hereafter. (4) Fourthly, one Larin per cent. was collected as customs duty from dealers (in horses, etc.) of Cheūl; but now 10 Larins per cent. are demanded, which is the cause of ruin of the port. Let him, therefore, have correspondence with the viceroy in this respect also, and let only that amount which used to be collected before, be realised hereafter and not anything more.

This Farmān requires some explanation by way of elucidation. Cheūl was originally divided into two parts, viz., upper Cheūl owned by the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns of Ahmadnagar, and lower Cheūl or Regdandā, as it is specified here, owned by the Portuguese. Nizāmshāhī Sultāns had entered into some agreements with the Portuguese from time to time;¹ but owing to the decline in the power of the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns the Portuguese had exacted certain prerogatives for themselves. After the complete fall of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom in 1636 A.D., a treaty was concluded between the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān and the 'Ādilshāhī Sultān Muḥammad by which all the part of the Konkan that once belonged to the Nizāmshāhī kingdom came under the sway of Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh.² He was not of course bound to abide by the terms of agreement which were in force between the Portuguese and the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns. Hence quarrels often arose between the Portuguese and the 'Ādilshāhī officers.

1. One such agreement or treaty in which reference is made to some other previous agreements has already been published; vide *Śivacaritraśāhitya*, Vol. IV, No. 689.

2. *Bādshāh Nāma* by 'Abdul-Hamīd Lahori, Vol. I, part 2, p. 169; for a later source vide 'Ālamgīr Nāma by Mirza Muḥammad Qāyūm, pp. 574, 575.

Four such points of dispute are referred to in this Farmān. But until and unless we know the details of the older engagements between the Portuguese and the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns, it will not be possible to grasp the bearing of the four points referred to in this Farmān in a satisfactory way.

TEXT OF THE FARMĀN

هو الخلیل

الملك لله

[Round seal of Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh]¹

فرمان هایون شرف صدور یافت بجهانب عزت و رفعت دسگاه هدایت و بحاجت انتباه دولت خواه
بے همتا میرزا محمود رضا حواله دار معاملہ گووہ از شہور سنہ احدى اربعین الف(?) در یولابعرض مقدس
رسید کہ جہازی کہ در بندر چیول بجهت سرکار عملہ وزرای عظام زیدہ امرای کرام سلالہ خوانین
رفیع مقام موفورالقدر و الاحتسام فارس مختار شجاعت مبارز مدان شہاب شایستہ ہزاران مرحمت و
عاطف سزاوار فراوان رفت و مکرمت خان عالیشان سعادت نسان رفیع القدر و المکان رستم زمان ماحی
آثار سام نربان سپہ سالار دوران عضد الخلافۃ العلیہ موسس السلطنۃ البہیہ المکسا² رندولہ خان
طیار کردہ می خواہند روانہ بنادر نمایند غالباً کپتان³ ریگدندہ عذر پیش آوردہ میخواہد کہ خلاف عہود
و موافق نماید بلکہ درنہ آسب رسانیدن است چون اسد البحر و یزرری جزیرہ گووہ دم از دوستی و اخلاص
میزند درینصورت این مقدمہ باند البحر آن دولت خواه بیعام نماید و بفہماید کہ عاذاً باللہ اگر یک ذرہ
مزاحمتی بجهاز خان معزالیہ برسد یقین کہ در ساعت گووہ بر باد خواہد رفت چہ لسکرہا ہمہ مستعد
و آمادہ اند و چنانچہ دول خواہی نواب⁴ ما منظور است باس خاطر رستم الزمانی نیز باید نمود بجملا آن
دولت خواہ تاکید نماید کہ بزودی نوشتہ بنام کپتان مذکور بفرستد کہ ذرہ بیچ وجہ مزاحمتی در رواہ
نمودن جہاز خان معزالیہ رساند و در امداد دقیقہ نامرعی نگذارد و سکر و شکایت را عظیم موثر داند
دیگر در باب شش راس اسب کہ بجهت سرکار خان معزالیہ آوردہ اند و کپتان مذکور بجهت زکوہ
شدت میناید قبل ازین حکم فرمودہ بودیم کہ منجملہ بیس و پنج راس (اسب) معافی سرکار اشرف
وضع نمودہ بنویسد کہ شدت نکند اماو عذر پیش آوردہ کہ اگر بدابل یارنو مجراس و الافلا این چہ
معنی دارد خواہ در بندر دابل خواہ در بندر راجا بور یا در گووہ ہم کہ بخرنہ بجهت سرکار اشرف زکوہ
معافست با این حال کپتان مذکور عذر ہائے بیجا کردہ میخواہد کہ فساد ی بہم رساند و یقین کہ خرابی

۱. پروا سگی حضور اشرف اقدس هایون اعلیٰ

2. I am rather diffident about the decipherment of this word.

3. In this word Rēg the Persian synonym has been substituted for the original Reva meaning sand.

4. One word obscure after this word.

خانه ایشان متضمن این فساد است باید که درین باب نیز آن دولت خواه پیغام کرده بگوید که تاکید بلیغ بنویسد که من بعد مطالبه بیجا نکند دیگر کشتان مذکور بیست صد و هشت هزار لاری قاعده که در زمان سابق بوده تشدد مینماید اول بندر مذکور از دیگری بود الحال بسرکار ما مستقل شده پس چگونه طلب میباشد درین باب نیز باسدالخیر پیغام نموده تاکید به کشتان مذکور نوشته بفرستد که من بعد هیچ وجه طلبی نکند دیگر قبل ازین در صدی یک لاری لوازمه زکوة خود از سوداگران میگرفتند الحال در صدی ده لاری از آنها میخواهند و این معنی باعث خرابی بندر است درین باب نیز پیغام کند که چنانچه همیشه جاری بوده روان دارند و زیاده طلبی ننمایند و تاکید بلیغ بنمایند تا دادد تحریراً فی ۳ سهر جادی الاولی سنه ۱۰۵۱-

G. H. KHAKH.

'ALĀHWĀR, LŌHKŌT AND LAHĀWUR

IN the course of my researches on the life of al-Muhallab b. 'Abi Sufra (published in summary form in *Islamic Culture*, April, 1944) I fell in with the common view of my predecessors on the point of the identification of 'Alāhwār (mentioned by al-Balādhurī—*Futūh*, 432—as a place visited by al-Muhallab in the course of his expedition into the north-western border of India in 44 A.H./664 A.D.) with Lahore, the capital town of the Punjab. Of late, however, my friend, Mr. Nabī Bakhsh Balōch, who in the course of his researches on the history of Sind under the Arabs has had occasion to study the question in some detail, suggested to me the improbability of identifying the 'Alāhwār of al-Balādhurī with the capital town of the Punjab and at the same time drew my attention to the existence of two other places bearing a similar name, the one near Waihind pointed out by Cunningham and the other on the south-western border of Kashmir also called Lōhkōt or Lōharkōt (mod. Lohārin). This provided me with an opportunity to study the question afresh and to revise my view as follows :

The most remarkable thing about the reference in al-Balādhurī cited above is that the form “الاهوار” is not to be found anywhere else. It occurs in the annals only once, viz. in connection with the campaign of al-Muhallab. The “ا” at the beginning is significant and militates against the form being regarded, in the absence of any definite corroborative evidence, as a mere variant of Lahore. Further, there is no reason why the “ال” should be treated as the Arabic definite article; hence the transcription of it as “al-Ahwār” is rather arbitrary. Obviously the entire form must represent a close reproduction of the original name according to the way of the Arabs. Now the whole mystery is solved by the following remarks of Cunningham which, to my minds, leave little doubt about the identification of 'Alāhwār with the birthplace of Pānini :

“Hwen Thsang next visited So-lo-tu-lo or Salatura, the birthplace of the celebrated grammarian, Pānini, which he says was 3 miles to the north-west of Ohind. In January, 1848 during a day's halt at the village of Lahor, which is exactly four miles to the north-east of Ohind, I procured several Greek and Indo-Scythian coins from which it may be inferred with some certainty that the place is as old as the time of Pānini himself,

or about B.C. 350. I have therefore no hesitation in identifying Salatura with Lahor. The loss of the first syllable of the name is satisfactorily accounted for by the change of the palatal sibilant to the aspirate, according to the well-known usage of the people of western India, by whom the Sindhu river was called Hendu or Indus, and the people on its banks Hindus or Indians; Salatura would therefore have become Halatura and Alatur, which might easily have been corrupted to Lahor; or as the general court writes the name, to Lavor."¹

Thus we see that here we have another instance of the extraordinary care and precision with which the Arabs recorded their annals. The first syllable "Ala" is only a variation, through common usage, of the original "Sala" whereas the ending "لور" is also proved, besides the practice of the general court, by al-Maqdisi ('*Aḥsan-u't-Taqāsīm*, 477) who mentions "لور" as one of the places within the district of Waihind.

This identification of 'Alāhwār also fits in squarely with the context of the tradition and the probable natural course of al-Muhallab's campaign within the limitations of the situation. It will be remembered that al-Muhallab started from Kābul without any elaborate preparation for deep penetration into a hostile country. His adventure can at best be described as a reconnaissance raid which in its very nature must be confined to the borderland. It is therefore quite a fair assumption that al-Muhallab proceeded along the natural highway of the Kābul valley up to the fortified strategic outpost of Waihind and then turned round for a dash along the mountainous region which forms the natural barrier guarding against an entry into India from the north-west. Viewed in this light al-Balādhuri's description of 'Alāhwār and Bannah (i.e. Bannū, including the Tochi and the Kurram valleys) as "lying between Kābul and Multān" appears quite appropriate in as much as the natural route linking the two cities passed either through the Gomāl valley or through the Pishin valley, the latter being the more usual one, (Cunningham, p. 100). Obviously it would be impossible to make the situation of Lahore answer the above description by any stretch of the words. Moreover it is somewhat doubtful whether the town of Lahore, at least with its current name, even existed at that time. Hwen Thsang, according to the investigation of Mr. Muḥammad Bāqir (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34-5), makes no mention of it.

Another place called al-Qīqān mentioned in the same tradition of al-Balādhuri as the scene of al-Muhallab's encounter with the "Turks" must also be located on the same route. It can be gleaned from al-Balādhuri itself (vide pp. 433-4) that al-Qīqān "formed part of as-Sind in the direction of Khurāsān,"² was circumjacent to al-Būqān (also called

1. *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 66-7.

2. It must be remembered that in early days the name "*Khurāsān*" was applicable to all the land east of the Iranian Desert right up to the borders of India, and the boundaries of as-Sind extended so far as to include Baluchistan and part of the modern State of Qalāt.

al-Budh and identified with the modern Kachhi), had very close connection with Quṣḍār, and was noted for its horses. Hwen Thsang mentions it as being on the western frontiers of Falāna (Bannū). Thus in general the district intended must be somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin and Quetta, comprising the Sulaiman range as well as the limits of Sahārāwān and Mushkī in the west where horses are still in great demand, (*vide* Elliot I, 381 seq. and Cunningham, p. 99). It is also helpful to note in this connection that in the words of adh-Dhahabī (*Duwal-ul-Islām*, p. 22) the scene of the encounter with the Turks lay in the neighbourhood of Qandābīl, which place according to Taghribirdī (*an-Nujūmū'z-Zāhira*, I, 125) formed the limit of al-Muhallab's advance.

We now have a fair estimate of the importance of al-Muhallab's expedition which resulted in the reconnaissance of two of the three possible land routes into the north-west and west of India, viz., the Kābul valley and the Bolān Pass. The former route was never seriously attempted by the early Arab armies. The second one had indeed been already attempted before al-Muhallab, and continued to be the scene of many a dogged but ineffective attempt thereafter, until it was given up for the third route along the coast of Mukrān.

Incidentally it must also be remarked that the presence of the "Turks" in the region referred to above, is also proved by the fact that the successive waves of nomadic tribes that migrated from Central Asia into Transoxiana also infiltrated into the tract lying south of the Hindukush. In the fifth century A.D. the Epthalites completely inundated the land, even submerging the Sahi princes long established there. The Epthalites were displaced in the following century by a new body of nomads usually designated as "Turks" (Chinese: T'u-Chuch). Hwen Thsang found the whole region from Turfan to Merv and Lake Issykkul to the Hindukush under the control of the Khāqān of the western branch of this Turkish horde. At this time (630 A.D.) the kingdom of Kapisa, whose ruler, though described as a Khattri, may, according to modern research, well have been of the same Turkish nomadic origin, extended down to the borders of Falāna on the Gomāl river and was divided into numerous tributary States. One of these States, Kābul, also had a Turkish king.¹

LUHŪR AND LAHĀWUR

HAVING established the identity of 'Alāhwār we now proceed to examine closely the references to Luhūr, Lahāwūr, and their variants in al-Bīrūnī and Gardizī. It is remarkable that al-Bīrūnī refers to Lahāwūr only as a province and not as a city or town. The province as defined by him extended between the Ravi and the Beas (129, 6), was adjacent to Takeshar, the land of the Takkas (102, 2 ; 206, 15), and had as its capital

1. See H.C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Chap. II.

Mandahūkūr—Lat. $31^{\circ}50'$ Long. $99^{\circ}20'$ —on the eastern bank of the Ravi (101,3). Further al-Birūnī refers to Luhūr and Lōhūr as a strong fortress west of the mountain Kulārjak, which stood south at a distance of two Farsakhs from the plain of Kashmir (102,3). The distance between Luhūr—Lat. $33^{\circ}40'$, Long. $98^{\circ}20'$ —and the capital of Kashmir was 56 miles (163,3). Gardizī's references to this fortress are also quite precise. He calls it Lāhōrkōt (p. 79) and Lōhkōt (p. 72) "the steel fortress," and describes it in terms very similar to those used by al-Birūnī. He also refers to the province of Lōhūr (also Lāhūr, p. 104) together with its concomitant Takishar just in the same way as in al-Birūnī. Thus the fortress of Lōhārin called Lūhūr by al-Birūnī, and the province of Lahāwur or Lūhūr must be clearly distinguished from each other.

To sum up : (1) al-Balādhurī makes no mention of Lahore, 'Alāhwār being located near Waihind, (2) al-Birūnī refers only to the province, and not the town, of Lahore with its capital at Mandahukūr. Gardizī also makes no precise reference to the town of Lahore. (3) Al-Birūnī applies the name Lūhūr to the fortress of Lōhārin, called Lōhkōt and Lōharkōt by Gardizī, on the south-western border of Kashmir. This fortress and the Kulārjak mountain, which, in the words of al-Birūnī, was seen in the form of a cupola from the boundaries of Lahāwur and Takishar, must be located somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Tosa-maidan Pass, in the light of the detailed description given by al-Birūnī and confirmed by Gardizī.

Thus we see that Mr. Muḥammad Bāqir, author of an article on Lahore referred to above, is mistaken in identifying every reference to Lūhūr or any of its variants with the present capital of the Punjab. There should be no confusion so far as 'Alāhwār is concerned. As for the rest of the variants we have to seek the aid of the context to identify the place with either Loharin or the province or town of Lahore.

WAS BAIRAM KHĀN A REBEL ?

THE tentative period of the Mughal rule in India was also its most glorious period, the period of steady and real establishment of power. Political events which make and unmake nations followed with logical coherence in this period—the period of Akbar's reign. The circumstances always favoured 'the man of destiny' in bringing about the desired situations. The death of Humāyūn, emergence of Hēmū, murder of Tardī Bēg, the battle of Pānīpat, the rise of Bairam Khān, the bustling activity of the Chaghata'i stalwarts, all these events conspired to produce another important event, the fall of Bairam Khān.

The fall of Bairam Khān is an interesting and significant episode of Akbar's reign. It occurred just when it ought to have occurred. His fall was the fall of an institution. The loyal veteran of Humāyūn's time was driven from pillar to post, till finally he had to eat humble pie and to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca which fortune never allowed him to fulfil.

But was it a historical catastrophe ? Can practised loyalty turn into treachery ? These are the questions with which we are faced. Human reason is perplexed to see the extremely loyal career of Bairam Khān turn in the evening of his life into a disastrous hostility, as Abu'l-Faḍl would like us to believe.² He had been loyal to his master through thick and thin. He befriended him when fortune had deserted him. At Amarkot when the Rānā had grown cold and even men like Mun'im Khān had deserted him, Bairam rushed from Gujerāt to reach His Majesty, says Gulbadan Bēgum.³ He was exhausted, he was attacked and was moving in an utterly hostile country in the clutches of death. But his loyalty goaded him on. It was he who advised the perplexed emperor to proceed to Qandhār when he did not know where to go. It was this journey which brought him in contact with, and secured the help of, the Shāh

1 Paper read before the Post-Graduates History Study Circle of the Allahabad University.

2 Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, by Henry Beveridge, Vol II, p. 147.

3 Gulbadan, *Humayūn-Nāmā*, tr by A. S. Beveridge, p. 48.

of Persia. Again when Humāyūn was returning to India, he begged to accompany him.¹ After the emperor's death it was he who secured the empire of India for Akbar. A man of such a loyal career is condemned by the Historian Royal Abu'l Faḍl, who says :

"He could never believe that India could be administered without him, consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship so that the writing of eternal infamy should not be inscribed in his record. . . .² He spoke of pilgrimage but inwardly he thought of crookedness."³

The charges are explicit and imply not only rebellion but treachery and hypocrisy. The statements are categorical and leave no scope for doubt. But the difficulty arises because "the Persian historians narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khān's fall at immense length and from different points of view," as Dr. V.A. Smith⁴ rightly observes. Abu'l-Faḍl's account, when properly examined, clearly shows that the author was hostile to Bairam Khān. The reasons are not far to seek. Firstly, Abu'l-Faḍl wrote long after the event which had proved disastrous in its consequences. Naturally, like all the medieval chroniclers, he viewed the whole situation in the perspective of failure. And secondly, he is in the habit of discrediting the king's opponents in order to extol the virtues and gloss over the crimes of his master. According to him Bairam was Akbar's opponent, and therefore Abu'l-Faḍl is not to be absolutely trusted here. Besides, we are told that Akbar used to hear his accounts personally. The result is that the accounts are generally irritatingly courtly. At times he has to be studiously ambiguous, at times explicitly dishonest.

The other great historian who attracts our attention is Nizām ad-Dīn Bakhshī, the celebrated author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. His veracity and simplicity have impressed every student of Indo-Muslim history. He is more reliable than Abu'l-Faḍl for two reasons; first the *Ṭabaqāt* was not an official history which was meant to be read before the emperor, and hence the author was at liberty to form his independent judgments; secondly he could not expect any favour from Bairam, who had disappeared from the scene. His veracity is universally accepted, but still his accounts need thorough sifting. The fact is that we find two groups of historians, those who sympathised with Bairam Khān and those who were opposed to him. Abu'l-Faḍl obviously belongs to the latter group, Nizām-ad-Dīn to the former. Others, viz., Badāyūnī, Nūr-al-Haḳ, Shaikh Allāh-dād Sirhindī, Mulla Abu'l-Bāqī, Mu'tamad Khān, Farishta, 'Arif Muḥammad Qandhārī, etc. follow either Abu'l-Faḍl or Nizām ad-Dīn

1 Gulbadan Bēgam, p. 59.

2 A S. Bev., II, p. 147.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

4 V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 43.

Ahmad. What we propose to do is to bring out the kernel of truth from the husk of legend and controversy by making a thorough study of the circumstantial evidence.

It goes without saying that Bairam Khān was a veteran, well-versed in the art of warfare, brave, a patron of literature, grandiloquent and conspicuously loyal. Gulbadan describes him as extremely affectionate and keenly emotional. Even Abu'l-Faḍl has to accept that in reality he was a good man of excellent qualities.¹ And really it was his affectionate disposition, his unfailing loyalty, his pronounced courage which led Humāyūn to appoint him as regent for his young son. But with all these qualities were mingled opposite traits of character which played a decisive role in bringing about his fall. Most of these unredeeming features were innate in him, but many he added after he came to power, rightly observes Dr. Ibn Hasan.² Bairam Khān had womanish jealousy and he could not tolerate anybody else's rise. Why were the Atkāṣ opposed to him? Obviously because of Bairam's jealous temperament. Furthermore, he had an exalted and exaggerated notion of his ability. Abu'l-Faḍl emphasises this point off and on. He says :

"From amongst them, Bairam Khān (who considered himself to be an adept of the time in bravery, statesmanship, fidelity and sincerity). He was of the belief that without him the management of India could not be carried on."³

This habit in him naturally encouraged flattery, and it was a habit highly detrimental to a statesman. Abu'l-Faḍl's emphasis on this point is undoubtedly justified. Others too condemn it, including Qandhārī, who emphatically says, "The friends of the Sa'id Khān were only outwardly friendly, they were the enemies of the State."⁴ Bairam Khān, secure in his vanity, could never realise that they were actually sealing his doom. As a matter of fact, it was these self-seekers, who surrounded him all the time, that made him all the more vain and haughty so that he gradually lost his power of judicious judgment. With such an abnormal disposition, as he had latterly developed he committed a series of blunders, or more rightly every possible blunder.

A brief survey of the events and also of his character reveals the pitfalls. History cannot forgive him for his Shī'ah partiality. Perhaps he wanted to champion the cause of the Shī'ahs in a country predominantly

1. A S Beveridge, II, p. 175

2. Ibn-Hasan : *Central Structure of Mug. Emp*, p. 123

3. Ak, Bib. Ind., p. 86. از آئینہ بیرام خان (کہ خود را درمردانگی و معاملہ دانی و عقیدت و احلاص یگانہ روزگاری داشت . .) اور اباخود عقبہ بود کہ مے وجود او انتظام مہبات ہدوستان صورت نہاد
(I have freely rendered it into English).

4. 'Arif Qandhārī : *Tārīkh-i-Akbar Shāhi*, MS, in possession of Prof. R. P. Tripathi of Allahabad University, p. 87 :
موافقان طاہر نامے خان . شارایہ کہ محافلان دولت بود بد

Sunnī and when the Emperor himself was a Sunnī. In State-craft he was only mediocre. He lacked quick decision and perpetually committed political blunders, rightly observes Abu'l-Faḍl.¹ Dr. Ibn Ḥasan's correct estimate deserves to be quoted. He says that Bairam Khān, having got power, "failed to rise above the level of the ordinary administrator, and some of his actions were beyond doubt based on personal considerations, apart from political exigencies of the needs of the State"² His perpetual attempts to destroy his so-called enemies and to keep a vigilant eye on the Atkāṣ ultimately created a crisis of the first magnitude for him. Their jealousy led to ill-conceived actions, but in discharging purely State duties he was honest and loyal to the core. Abu'l-Faḍl has to accept that Bairam Khān-i-Khānān '*Izzat-ad-Daulat-al-Qāhrah* became the Vakīl, and the "binding and loosing of the affairs of the caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory were committed to his plenteous science and the strong hand of his fidelity."³ The fidel Bairam remained faithful all through and never turned into a rebel against the State, as Abu'l-Faḍl says as we shall see presently. It was because of the lack of tact in him that he failed to retain the emperor's confidence, and not because of disloyalty.

Now let us briefly analyse a few events of Akbar's reign which like a Greek tragedy quickened Bairam's catastrophe. Power made him proud and pride led to his ruin.

(1) The first striking event is the execution of Tardī Bēg at his instigation in 1556. Bairam Khān, who was over-jealous from the very beginning, thought, though wrongly, that it was well-nigh impossible for him to carry on with the old nobility. This estimate of his was entirely faulty, statesmanship required a policy of conciliation. Tardī Bēg was treacherously murdered after he had run away from Delhi while fighting against Hēmū. Akbar graciously accepted the excuse out of political necessity, says Abu'l-Faḍl.⁴ Abu'l Faḍl and Farishta justify this action, saying that had Bairam not done so, "the old scene of Shēr Shāh would have been acted over again."⁵ Nizām-ad-Dīn too agrees with Abu'l-Faḍl. But the justification is a forced justification. Badāyūnī gives an even more unsatisfactory account. He says that Bairam 'obtained a sort of permission' to do so.⁶ The reason of the execution, far from being political was entirely personal. The fact is that it was the feeling of rivalry which incited Bairam. The instantaneous effect of this unjust execution was forgotten but afterwards it was completely revived. The king was reminded of this high-handedness later on. The murder of Tardī Bēg was no less than a bomb-shell, but it was a time-bomb which exploded later on. Von

1. A.S. Bev II, p. 149

2. Ibn Hasan, p. 123.

3. A.S. Bev, Vol. 2, p. 9.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

5. Farishta. Briggs, Vol. 2, p. 186

6. Badāyūnī. Lowe & Cowell, Vol. 2, p. 7

Noer very ably remarks that "the death of Tardī Beg showed her (Māham Angā) with what unconcerned barbarity the Regent could remove any person whom he believed likely to endanger his own position."¹ But one thing is obvious, this execution, though a blunder on the part of Bairam Khān was not itself motivated by treachery and disloyalty towards the emperor, who for Bairam was identical with the State. The reasons are much too clear: firstly, had it been due to disloyalty towards Akbar, why should he have opposed the fatal proposal of returning to Kabul? This opposition was the crucial instance which gave Akbar the empire of India. Secondly, he thought that Tardī Bēg would be an obstruction and therefore for the unobstructed execution of the State business, he had him murdered. Over and above all, Hēmū's defeat was the direct result of Bairam's loyalty. "It was only the personality of Bairam Khān which established peace in the country and saved the dynasty."² Bairam Khān was the Vakil-i-Muṭlaq and acted as the Atāliq of the emperor. "The king was behind the veil and the rule was that of the Vakils."³ There is no doubt that his powers were unlimited, but the assumption of power was not due to any ill-intention towards the king. Abu'l-Faḍl wrongly imputes it to ill-intention. He asserts that "he exceeded the limits and bringing hidden thoughts to his contemplation, he began to perfect his schemes."⁴ This assertion of the royal historian, we believe, does not fully stand the test of reason. Bairam Khān had no evil intentions towards the State. The assumption of power was a political necessity, it was certainly not a preparation for establishing his own empire. Had he so desired, why should he have so substantially contributed to the establishment of the defunct Mughal empire? In the appropriation of too much power, Bairam acted with the best intentions towards the State. He thought himself to be justified in doing so. The king was a minor and therefore he thought that he should exercise unlimited authority, because the Grand Vazīr according to al-Māwardī's conception, was "the major-domo and alter ego of the Caliph."⁵ His intentions were beyond doubt honest, but a different issue, more important than his intention, merges. Could he ably exercise that unlimited power for the good of the State? No, he could not. The way he chose to stabilise the government, by perpetuating his personal power, was undoubtedly disastrously mistaken. He ought to have held the power like a great official of the State and not like an autocratic grandee gratifying his own whims and idiosyncracies, as he did. Though a calculating statesman with "wisdom and discernment,"⁶ yet he was "coldly calculating," rightly opines Von Noer.⁷ His calculations were to perpetuate

1. Von Noer, *Akbar*, tr. from German, Vol. I, p. 79.

2. Ibn Ḥasan, p. 121.

3. *Ibid.*

4. A.N., Bib. Ind., p. 87 انکہ کار از اندازہ بیرون رده اندیشہاے نهان بخاطر آورده خیالات خام پختن گرفت

5. Al-Māwardī, Tr. of *Vezirat de delegation et vezirat d'exécution*, p. 197.

6. A.S., Bev. II, p. 145.

7. Von Noer, I, p. 74.

his personal authority as against the so-called clique of the old Mughal nobility, though certainly for the welfare of the State. It was his misfortune that he was highly prejudiced against the old nobility. But he could not help it because he was temperamentally jealous. Naturally therefore all his subsequent calculations became wrong. His original calculation was wrong because :

(a) He completely failed to understand the personality of his young ward, *i.e.*, the emperor, who according to Bairam was only a game-loving lad. This wrong estimate never allowed him to understand any subsequent problem correctly. Akbar, though apparently quiet and given to hunting, was a keenly sensitive boy, and was conscious of the responsibilities of State though he had not yet displayed any interest in them. Abu'l-Faḍl says, "in coursing his dogs, he was initiating his companions in matters of government."¹ This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but the exaggeration of a truth. It was the king himself of all person who was interested in Bairam's fall, Prof. R. P. Tripathī rightly thinks.²

(b) Assumption of too much power in a wrong way, as is shown above, brought into existence an organised party against him. Prof. Tripathī deserves to be quoted again. He says on Bairam's assumption of power that "this discontent led to a conspiracy against the all-powerful Bairam Khān."³

(c) Power made him haughty and egotistical. He collected an unhealthy entourage. Every historian makes mention of it, Abu'l-Faḍl mentions it over and over again and rightly too. He observes, "During these days, evil empowered him, so much so, that with the agency of the sedition-mongers who were short-sighted and envious of the fortunate ones, (his disposition changed)."⁴ This entourage consisted of men like Walī Bēg, Muḥammad Ṭahir, Lang Sarbān, Shaikh Gadā'ī Kambū who were the real leaders of disloyalty, as Abu'l-Faḍl says. It may be conceded that these flatterers were very harmful to Bairam Khān himself, as we shall see below. But it is difficult to agree with Abu'l-Faḍl that he acted entirely on their advice. Later on when Akbar refused to see Bairam Khān, Gadā'ī and Walī Bēg insisted that he should rebel but he refused to do so. This is accepted by Abu'l-Faḍl also.⁵ On no other occasion did he follow their suggestion but their presence was harmful in another respect. They were harmful, not for the State but for Bairam Khān himself. Since an anti-Bairam party had come into existence after he assumed power, Bairam Khān organised this party

1. A.S. Bev., I, p. 589.

2. J. I. Hist. 1922, R. P. Tripathī, p. 329

3. *Ibid.*,

4. A.N., Bib. Ind. p. 85 دریں هنگام فورے درحویے اور رفت ما آکھ اوسیلہ فتح اندوزان باتوان بین

(This portion has been translated by me) . . . [حاضر بیرم متغیر شد] . . . وحید پیشہ سعاد

5. A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 147.

of flatterers to counter-act the influence of his so-called opponents. Originally the members of the old nobility were not his enemies, but Bairam's attitude gradually made them so. Bairam organised his party, not against the king, but against his ill-wishers. This was a wrong course indeed. It gave an opportunity to his opponents, who pointed out to the king that Bairam had evil intentions. The error of assuming power, as he did, is now manifest. It was his great blunder, his pride and prejudice worsened the situation. Under the influence of flatterers, he developed a complex entirely harmful to himself. Abu'l-Faḍl rightly says :

"In short Bairam Khān struck axe on the leg of his fortune . . . and succumbing to pride (which is an old source of the downfall of the great ones), he produced the conditions of his and his partner's fall and soon its effect became manifest."¹

With the emergence of the opposite party, headed at first by Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Atkā and latterly by Māham Angā, Bairam lost his mental equanimity and he took a series of unwise steps simply for the gratification of his false sense of prestige. They really quickened his fall, as Von Noer rightly thinks.² To take a few more events :

(2) The incident of the approach of an elephant towards his camp when he was indisposed during the investment of Mankut in July 1557. He suspected foolishly that Atkā did it deliberately. He persisted in his suspicion. True, there was no tinge of disloyalty in this suspicion, but it created two unfavourable impressions—firstly, his obstinacy and rude behaviour became manifest, and secondly the display of enmity towards Atkā now openly brought the latter into the opposite camp.

(3) The boat incident and the killing of the Royal Mahaut in spite of the king's recommendation.³ It was again not an act of disloyalty but it produced three results, absolutely unfavourable to himself. Firstly, the ignoring of the royal recommendation must have made Akbar conscious of the regent's too great assumption of power; secondly, it created a sense of insecurity among the servants of the State, and lastly it made him very unpopular. Although there was the element of anger in killing the Mahaut, yet he did it with best intention of keeping the imperial elephant under the proper vigilance of a better Mahaut, rightly observes Abu'l-Bāqī.⁴ But the clique against him was bound to misinterpret the action, as Bāqī says, "Khān-i-Khānān separated these royal faithful elephant-drivers from the emperor and he is intriguing, and this false-

¹ *A N, Bib., Ind.*, p. 86 (که سیاد امگی قدیم . . . و تکبر) اقصه بیرام خان تیشه برپایه اقبال خود زد . . . و تکبر (که سیاد امگی قدیم
دو لسان است) پیش گرفته اسباب کمال خود و مری خود سرانجام می نمود و اندک فرصتی آثار آن بفاهور آمد

² Von Noer, p. 74.

³ Nizām ad-Dīn, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, E & D., Vol 5, p. 256.

⁴ Abu'l-Bāqī: *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimī*, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 657.

hood, which appeared to be a truth, became current among the people.”¹

(4) Muṣāhib Khān son of Khwāja Kalān Bēg one of the principal nobles of the late Majesty, was put to death by Bairam’s order because he was malicious.² Why did he do so ? Could he give capital punishment without the king’s permission ? No, he could not.

(5) The dismissal of Pīr Muḥammad Shēr-wānī was his greatest blunder. Every historian including ‘Arif Qandhārī condemns it. Pīr Muḥammad was Bairam’s right-hand man and helped him in killing Tardī Bēg. He also had a hand in Muṣāhib Khān’s execution. Dr. Smith’s contention that Pīr Muḥammad was base is wrong, and it is not borne out by the facts given by the contemporary historians.³ Bairam acted only to gratify his false sense of vanity. He foolishly thought that he was insulted when he went to see Pīr Muḥammad although the poor Pīr Muḥammad ran post-haste to see him when he heard of his arrival. This produced three-fold consequences—firstly Pīr Muḥammad turned into an enemy and his enmity was disastrous because he knew all the secrets of the Khān, secondly, this action considerably angered the king and lastly it strengthened the opposition.

(6) He showed extreme thick-headedness in making various appointments and in giving ranks. There was no other motive in it except his favouritism towards Shī’as and his protégés. Hājī Muḥammad Sīstānī, absolutely an unknown man, was made Vakil instead of Pīr Muḥammad. Shaikh Gadā’i Kambū, whom Abu’l-Faḍl calls a ‘Shor-bakht,’⁴ was appointed as Ṣadr aṣ-Ṣudūr in 1558. Gadā’i was a Shī’a. Could the Sunnis tolerate it ? It very clearly shows his intellectual bankruptcy in practical politics. Then he ignored ‘Abd-ul-Ghauth, a Muslim divine, only to gratify Gadā’i. It made him extremely unpopular, Abu’l-Faḍl smells in this, as in every other action, treachery. But this is only a wrong charge because his Shī’a partiality made him unpopular enough but it was not going to help him in any way in maturing his schemes. It was all politically unsound. Then he bestowed the ranks of 5,000 on no less than 25 of his servants, ignoring those of the king completely.⁵

These appointments and the other injudicious actions mentioned above reveal the main features of his character. We have analysed a few events. What we find in them, is not disloyalty or treachery, but the lack of far-sightedness. He took wrong steps to gratify his so-called friends, who in fact were self-seekers, and to shock the clique against him. The stability of the State was not involved but he was entirely mistaken. He

1. Abdu’l-Bāqī, *M R Bib Ibid., Ind* (the English rendering is my own) : حاجانان ایر روشن بیلان

حاصه را از شاهشاهی جداساحت و فکری دارد و این دروغ راست غا در میان مردم نیز شهرت دادند

2. *Tabaqāt E & D.*, V, p. 257.

3. Smith, p. 47

4. *A.N., Bib., Ind.* p. 86.

5. *Nizām ad-Dīn, Blochmann*, p. 316

could have served his purpose better had he followed a policy of conciliation and had he appointed a variety of people. He became very unpopular. Now the conclusion is irresistible that he lacked political insight. Abul Faḍl corroborates it, but then heaping contempt upon him, imputes it to treachery (حیام حای).¹ But he fails to give any substantial argument for the charge, as the analysis has very clearly revealed.

Now it is obvious that his actions were not motivated by treachery, but it cannot be denied that they were highly impolitic, conspicuously ill-advised and severely unjust. The reaction was bound to come and it did come. The king was now tired of the complaints against Bairam. Akbar now wanted to take power, but that required some reasonable excuse because he could not remove the loyal Bairam without any reason. But the reasons could easily be invented.

Long before going to Delhi, we are told by a person no less than Abu'l-Faḍl himself, the Emperor was keen to shake off the Regent's power after Pīr Muḥammad's dismissal. The plan of subverting his authority was discussed and formed at Bayana. Those who participated in the conference, besides the Emperor, were Māham Angā, Adham Khān, and Mīrzā Sharf-ad-Dīn. Abu'l-Bāqī corroborates it :

"At last the mischief-mongers represented that the king declared that he wanted to chastise the Khān-i-Khānān and his flatterers."²

Now there is no reason to doubt it, rightly observes Prof. R. P. Tripathi.³ There was a plan to oust the Atāliq to which the emperor himself was a party. In these circumstances the Khān was bound, in spite of all his loyalty, to fall indeed and his fall was precipitated by his ill-advised actions.

The plan was only in the air. The opposite group now consisted of Māham Angā, her son, Shams ad-Dīn Atkā, 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-Zamān who turned against Bairam after Burj 'Alī's death. They began to incite the king against Bairam because the king himself was interested in the affair. Nizām-ad-Dīn's observation is conclusive on this point. He writes, "The general management of Imperial affairs was under the direction of Bairam Khān, but there were malignant and envious men who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor. . . ."⁴ Māham Angā and Adham were prominent at this time and they showed malice towards Bairam, but the king disapproved any action against the

¹ A N., Bib Ind, p. 85

² Bāqī, M R., Bib. Ind, p. 667. بحر الامراهل صناد حهان مودد که بادشاه ناما هم انگه و شرف الدین حسین مرزا و ادهم خان در میان آوردند که می خواهم که خاتمان و خوشامد گویان ایشان را . . . سزای می دهم (The English rendering is my own)

³ J I. Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 330.

⁴ Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D, op. cit, V, p. 260.

Khân because as yet the king could not say anything against him. But the disapproval was not real, it was only affected. The malicious people were bent upon ousting him. There was a constant intrigue going on against him. Abu'l-Faḍl tells us that after the Bayana Conference, Māham Angā, upon whom he also showers praises, though quite wrongly, communicated the report of the conference to Shihāb-ad-Dīn at Delhi and made him her tool.¹ Māham was the centre of intrigue. Actually, Dr Smith is right in thinking² that it was this party which forced Bairam Khân to rebel. Bairam himself never wanted to do so, as will be seen below.

As regards Akbar, he was independent by nature, and we are not for a moment prepared to assume that others guided his activities. But it cannot be denied that the anti-Bairam party constantly filled his ears against Bairam. Akbar could not naturally be indifferent to it. But the fact is that he received these suggestions because he himself wanted them.

Akbar now took definite steps to bring about the breach. Abu'l-Faḍl and Abu'l-Bāqī both tell us that Akbar, on the pretext of hunting left Agra on the 19th March, 1560 of the Christian era,³ reached Kol, crossed the Jamuna and that night stayed with Ḥakīm Zambīl, and since Bairam Khân was constantly favouring Abu'l-Qāsim, son of Kimrān Mīrzā, he took him also with him. Abu'l-Faḍl says:

"Since Bairam Khân always showed cordial relations and real attachment to Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim, son of Kimrān Mīrzā, and always the evil-wishers of the king had an eye on him. . . ."⁴

Abu'l-Faḍl's enunciation of this fact seems to be wrong. Nizām-ad-Dīn did not make any mention of it. Abu'l-Bāqī calls it only malicious propaganda. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions it with so much certainty because it was a secret and a baseless fabrication of the anti-Bairam party, known to Abu'l-Faḍl also because he had the advantage of knowing all the secrets. Not a single action of Bairam Khân can show that he wanted to give kingship to Qāsim. Had it been so, why did Bairam help Akbar when he had no power? Moreover it was Abu'l-Qāsim who fought against Bairam along with Atkā. The charge, therefore, is baseless.

His Majesty reached Jalesar and then Sikandra, where, according to Abu'l-Faḍl, Māham divulged the secret of the plan to Bāqī Baqlānī. As his mother was ill, Akbar made this his motive and went to Delhi, says Ab'ul Faḍl. Did Akbar know the plan? From Abu'l-Faḍl's as well as Abu'l-Bāqī's statements it is clear that Akbar knew the plan, because he started

1. A. S. Bev., II, p. 150, also *Bib. Ind.*, p. 88 (my rendering) ماهم انكه اين راز سرسته را شهاب الدين حان در بيان آورد

2. Smith, p. 47

3. A. N., *Bib. Ind.*, p. 88 & Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 665.

4. A. N., *Ibid.*, p. 90 (my rendering) چون يوسته بيرام حان اظهار تعلق خاطرى و توجّه ماطى به مرزا ابوالقاسم پسر مرزا كامرانى نمود و همواره در انديشان آن مجلس را در بينش بطرى داشته

on the 'pretext,' as Abu'l-Faḍl says. Did Māham tell him about his mother's illness? Abu'l-Faḍl and Bāqī do not mention but Nizām ad-Dīn clearly says that Māham told Akbar that Maryam-i-Zamānī wanted to see him. She did so because she wanted the execution of the plan. Nizām ad-Dīn is correct. Māham must have told Akbar. Abu'l-Faḍl tells us that after the Bayana Conference, she communicated the news to Shihāb ad-Dīn. Now when Akbar was near, she had the best opportunity. In fact everything was settled beforehand, otherwise what was the sense in taking Abu'l-Qāsim whom Akbar considered to be the source of danger? It was not accidental, says Prof. Tripathī.¹ Furthermore he says, "The flawless execution of the plan seems to indicate that every detail was well-conceived and that the Emperor himself readily and consciously allowed himself to fall in with every purpose."²

This leads us to conclude that there was a complete plan to oust Bairam Khān at any cost. Now let us examine his sincerity, which Abu'l-Faḍl doubts entirely. First when Bāqī Baqlānī divulged Māham's secrets to Bairam Khān the latter failed to believe him. Why? Only because of his sincerity and innocence. Had he done any treachery against the king, he would have rushed to counteract the plan like a guilty man. Despite this, on the 27th March 1506, a Farmān was issued showing that Bairam Khān had deviated from the right path."³ Atkā got Bairam Khan's *insignia*, Shihāb ad-Dīn was appointed Finance Minister, etc., but Bairam Khān, "in spite of all his wisdom and discernment,"⁴ says Abu'l-Faḍl sarcastically, remained normal. He simply failed to believe it. When he became conscious of his dismissal, he was shocked. Abu'l-Faḍl wrongly says that he called for Abu'l-Qāsim Bairam Khān must have known that he was with Akbar, and moreover could any person further his cause when all the grandees were at Delhi? What actually was his feelings is described by Abu'l-Bāqī in these words " [When the tidings reached him], he spoke to the servants and other people 'Now leave it, I do not aspire to the throne, greatness or high position. My aim was the conquest of Hindustan. . . . now I want the king's pleasure.' "⁵ Bairam loyally and immediately sent Khwāja Aḥmad ad-Dīn, Tarsūn Bēg, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, etc. to the king because he did not want to injure the king's feelings.⁶ It was certainly not out of deceit as Abu'l-Faḍl says.

On the other hand, Māham Angā was perpetually speaking ill of Bairam and was forcing the king to take some action lest she should have to go to Mecca for fear of Bairam. Nizām ad-Dīn tells us that Shihāb ad-Dīn began

1. *J. I. Hist.*, 1922, Tripathī, p. 332.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *A. N.*, p. 143, Vol. 2.

4. *A. N.*, Bev. II, p. 147.

5. Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 667. [چون خبر رسید] از ملازمان و دیگر مردم را گفت ازین جدا شوید، مرا مطلب

سلطنت و بزرگی و حشمت نیست، مطلب فتح همدستان بود، الحال مطلب رضائی شاهشاه است

6. *A. N.*, Bev., II, p. 147

preparations for war.¹ Was there any occasion for war ? It is now crystal clear that they wanted to force war upon the poor Bairam. Incessant intrigues led Bairam Khân's embassy to failure but not with any sufficient reason, because Akbar could not yet level any substantial charge against Bairam. It was later on that he could do so, and that too, not very fairly. People with vested interests, rightly says Nizām ad-Dīn, did not allow the young emperor to grant any interview to Bairam lest he might clear his position.² The message of Bairam Khân was full of supplication and sincerity. Nizām ad-Dīn and Abu'l-Bāqī both agree. Bairam wanted to clarify his position because he felt that his enemies had kidnapped the boy-king. His message reads as follows : " The devotion and loyalty of your servant would never allow him to do anything to any servant of the State against His Majesty's wishes, for naught but kindness and favour is due to all who faithfully discharge their duties."³ Why should his sincerity be doubted when there is no substantial reason to do so ?

The embassy was rejected but Akbar sent such a reply as confirmed Bairam Khân's belief that the king has no grievance against him, it was all the work of his enemies. This message sent by Akbar, undoubtedly based on hypocrisy, reverberated in his mind till finally he decided to fight against his enemies. The message was :

" As you are like my father, I also hold a kindred relationship with you and in spite of this misunderstanding and ill-advised actions, I still hold you dear."⁴

This letter clearly shows that Akbar simply failed to make any definite charge against him. The ill-advised actions are not mentioned by name. This letter, which created a false impression upon Bairam because of his sincerity towards the king, considerably determined his decision to fight against Atkā.

Bairam's loyalty became more pronounced when he outright rejected the advice of rebellion given by Gadā'ī and Walī Bēg, accepted by Abu'l-Faḍl also.⁵ In spite of all his disfavour to Bairam Khân, Abu'l-Faḍl had to accept that "yet from the regard which he had for righteousness he could not decide upon levying war. . . ."⁶ But in the same breath he says that Bairam Khân felt that India could not be administered without him, and "consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship."⁷ How contradictory is Abu'l-Faḍl is too obvious.

1. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D, V, p. 263

2. *Ibid*

3. *Ibid*

4. 'Ārif, MS of Prof. Tripathi of A U., p 90 چوں شاہان مانای ماہستید، همین ست مرعی است و با وجود این رحمت و از امور امامت و مامور هوز خاطر مبارک عزیر می دایم

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 150.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 147

7. *Ibid.*

How could the 'righteous man' become so unscrupulous simultaneously? Such contradictions are bound to occur because the author aimed at showing, at any cost, that Bairam Khān was a rebel against the State. The fact is that by this time Bairam had decided to go to Mecca as is evidenced by the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīma*.¹ What he wanted was simply to clear his position before the king before his departure. Even Abu'l-Faḍl says that "he decided to go weeping and wailing and burning and melting."² But no interview could be granted because the anti-Bairam party made representations against him. Bāqī rightly says that "those who were at the helm of affairs, opined that the coming of the Khān-i-Khānān was improper."³ Now what could Bairam Khān do? People were not inclined to make his way easy.⁴

Another important point, to refute the charge of rebellion, is stated by Abu'l-Faḍl himself. He says that the people who were about Akbar pointed out Bairam's treachery. They requested the king not to grant him an interview, and on mere suspicion they began to mature the plans for his destruction. After much discussion, or rather persuasion, Akbar decided upon war and retired to Lahore.⁵ The analysis of this passage reveals the whole truth. Bairam Khān was at Agra and was almost in a fix because he had yet done nothing against the king. In the meantime some new charges had to be framed. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions the charges. Their very analysis refutes them. Abu'l-Faḍl says that he was divided in his mind and wanted an ally to excite rebellion. He wanted to go to Malwa to join Bahādur Khān. This is only an imaginary charge. Had he so desired, it was absolutely foolish on his part, because as soon as he relieved Bahādur Khān, he was the first person to join the king, and this Abu'l-Faḍl accepts also.⁶ Could Bairam rely on such a person? Then, another charge that in relieving people Bairam thought that he would harm the king in disguise, is again baseless. Bairam Khān did so, first because he was no more the Vakīl, secondly because he was going to Mecca as Mullā Bāqī says,⁷ and lastly because he no more required their services. Had he had any idea of rebellion he ought to have collected men rather than dismiss them. Bahādur Khān, though a great friend of his, joined the king and was posted at Kabul to oppose him. Further, Abu'l-Faḍl says that he wanted to go to 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-Zamān.⁸ This is a gross misrepresentation of facts. After the execution of Burj 'Alī, a trusted servant of 'Alī Qulī, by the order of Pīr Muḥammad Shērwanī, the entire Uzbek party was opposed

1. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D., V, p. 264.

2. A.N., Bev. II, p. 146.

3. Bāqī, *Bib Ind*, p. 668 این که ماده معامله بود عرض نمودند که آمدن خاندان مصالحت نیست

4. Smith, p. 48

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 147.

6. *Ibid*.

7. Bāqī, *Bib Ind*, p. 668.

8. A.N., Bev. II, p. 149.

to Bairam Khân. Under these circumstances, he would never have thought of going to him. Last but not least, Abu'l-Faḍl says that outwardly he talked of pilgrimage, inwardly he thought of crookedness.¹ In the present circumstances, was there any chance of crookedness? He says that he sent letters to Sikandar, Afghân's son. This accepted, we do not hear of this man's rebellion. Moreover, no other historian mentions it. Then he says that Bairam wrote letters to various quarters and proceeded to Alwar in order to reach the Punjab.² This information is highly doubtful. Though he mentions the names of the addressees, he fails to give the contents of the letters. Moreover, reason fails to accept it. Was Bairam Khân so foolish as to depend upon their help when his trusted friends like Bahādur Khân hoodwinked him? Having framed the charges, which were mostly invented, His Majesty sent a Farmān :

"Though we are certain that, inasmuch as you are perfectly loyal, you never of your own accord assented to any of these acts, nor were the authors of them and that a faction has been the cause of these errors. . ."³

Then His Majesty mentions the charges which have been refuted above. The charge of Bairam's partiality is beyond doubt true, but we have seen above that his favouritism was not due to disloyalty, but was caused by his temperament and also by the circumstances. In the end His Majesty added, which is reproduced by Abu'l-Bāqī :

"How is it that after forty-five years' service and numerous generousities and after reaching the climax of power and honour, you are destroying this reputation in the evening of your life by rebellion, which name you had earned by the generosity of this exalted dynasty with extreme devotion and sincerity."⁴

Cannot we ascertain the psychological effect of this letter upon Bairam Khân? He has yet done nothing against the king but was getting perpetual rebuffs, and still he kept quiet. Moreover, "this letter offers no term of reasonable reconciliation. It was diplomatic and wanted his complete separation." This is a convincing observation of Prof. Tripathi.⁵ From the very beginning of his reign, Akbar resented the excessive control of Bairam Khân and on several occasions he gave expression to his feelings.

Bairam was extremely miserable. When he reached Alwar, 'Arif says, and correctly, that the eyes of the noble Khân shed stream of tears like the afflicted ones.⁶ He went to Bayāna and set at liberty Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī

1. A N, Bev. II, p. 156

2. Ibid, p. 152.

3. Ibid

4. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 670. این چه صورت دارد که بعد از چهل و پنج سال خدمت، و ارادت و انواع عبادت و رسیدن به مرتبائی دولت و عزت ما را که بواسطه کرم و احسان این دودمان عالی شان در اکثر مأموره عالم تکمال صدق و اخلاص انتشار و اشتہار یافته اشد و این احیر عمر به سعی و طغیان برآید، از خدا شرم ندارد

5. J. I. Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 335.

6. 'Arif, MS, p. 92 چشم حان سعید ماسد عمرزگان اشک فراوان می بارید

and Muḥammad Amīn Dīwān. Why did he do so? Only because he had imprisoned them and since he was going to Mecca, he set them at liberty.¹ There can have been no other intention because Abu'l-Ma'ālī had once been his rival and nothing could be expected from him. Abu'l-Faḍl's contention is that Bairam liberated him so that he might act seditiously. If it were so, why did Ma'ālī continue to create trouble till finally he was killed in 1572 A.D.? In fact he wanted to go to Mecca *via* the Punjab. It was again told to His Majesty by the mischief-mongers that he wanted strife and hence Akbar ordered a force to proceed to Nagor. Moreover Akbar sent 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf Qizwīnī to Bairam. This was Akbar's master-stroke. It was meant to establish that Akbar never wanted any collision or strife, it was Bairam Khān who was enforcing it. The game of Akbar can be clearly seen through when he sent Adham Khān, Sharf ad-Dīn, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and Majnūn Khān to Nagor to oppose Bairam.² In spite of this he kept quiet because he was under the delusion that the king was not against him, only his enemies were at work. He heard about it in Mēwāt. He at once sent letters of supplication and sent the entire insignia of royalty through Qulī Bēg, says Bāqī. He also wrote to those in authority "Now I am sick of the world and its affairs."³ It was his real feeling. Qulī Bēg affirmed it at Delhi and said, "That conqueror of the world, who is innocent, has severed his connection with the world and has devoted himself to the acquisition of the capital of eternity."⁴ It leaves no scope for doubt. He had yet no intention of rebellion. More crucial is the event of Gadā'i's leaving him and going to the court, told by Abu'l-Faḍl himself. Can there be any doubt about his intention now? His greatest friend would have stuck to him had he matured any idea of rebelling against his enemies.

Proceeding to Bikaner, he stayed with Rai Kalyān who showed him courtesy.⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl persists in saying that "he was looking for an opportunity for raising a disturbance,"⁶ but this charge is refuted by his own statement that "he remained several days in that agreeable country."⁷ Had he had any such intention, could he have moved so slowly as he did? He stayed in the 'agreeable country' to assuage his grief. Abu'l-Bāqī corroborates this.⁸ From Bikaner he proceeded to the Punjab. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions the letters which he is alleged to have written

1. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 671. معر دریں نوع در پیش بود

2. A.N., Bev., II, p. 157.

3. Bāqī, p. 647 من خود از دنیا و کار آن سرد شده ام

4. Ibid. آن حبا نگیرے قصر دلاں سلطنت طامری رداشته بہ تحصیل زاد سرو ماہ ملک جاوداں مشعولی حوید

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 149

و متوجہ سفر حجاز است

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 670.

to the officers in the Punjab. He says that he went to the Punjab with "black-thoughted ones, withdrew himself from every plan and taking the veil off his face proclaimed himself a rebel."¹ He wrote to the officers that he was going to Hedjaz "but he had come to know that a faction has spoken words to pervert the noble mind (of Akbar) and had made him a vagabond. especially Anga. At present his sole desire was to come and punish those evil-doers and take leave of them and proceed to Mecca."² The assumption that he wrongly wrote to them that he was going to Mecca is baseless. When he was going to ally himself with them, there was on sense in telling a lie. Besides, his intentions are much too clear. He was a man after all, and it would have been unnatural on his part had he not decided upon war.

Since he wanted to leave India immediately, he left his luggage at Bhatinda with Shêr Muḥammad Dīwān. Before he took it back, the Dīwān sent it to the Imperial Court. Moreover the contents of the king's first letter were always in his mind and he sincerely believed that the king had been kidnapped by his enemies. He makes mention of it in the letter quoted above. These things having culminated, he decided to wage war, not against the king or the State, but against his enemies who, according to him, were the malcontents of the empire. Dr. Smith's contention that the order to despatch Pīr Muḥammad to "pack him off to Mecca" excited him to rebel is entirely wrong. It did not excite him because Pīr Muḥammad was the only person who could discharge the duty, for he knew Bairam's temperament. Moreover he was instructed not to injure the Khān's feelings. Bairam decided to wage war when Pīr Muḥammad was far off in Gujarat.³ His excitement, therefore, was not due to this, but to a series of circumstances mentioned above. The excitement was but natural.⁴ Akbar's arrival in the Punjab completed it. War was now inevitable. In the war Bairam was defeated and he had to eat humble-pie. Akbar, who was still convinced of his loyalty, forgave him. Even his last statement speaks of his good intentions :

"I am worthy of any sort of punishment and my head hangs low, and though I am satisfied with the kindness of disposition of the monarch, I am fearful of the Chaghatā'i Umarā' and the courtiers of the State."⁵

Bairam Khān was certainly a man of "fascinating character whose tragic end heightened his glory."⁶

1 A.N., Bev., II, p. 159

2 Ibid., p. 160

3 A.N., Bev., II, p. 156

4 Bāqī very pertinently quotes Sa'dī.—

وقت ضرورت چو عالمگیر دست بگیرد سر شمشیر تیر

Bib Ind., p. 675

5. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D., V, pp. 267-68.

6 J I Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 328.

CONCLUSION

1. Bairam Khān was not a rebel, morally or politically, either against the king or against the empire, because the king was identical with the empire. 2. He was forced into rebellion by a set of intriguers. 3. The king himself was interested in his fall. 4. Though he was always a well-wisher of the State, power made him haughty and rude, as a result of which he became unpopular. 5. He was lacking in practical politics and choose a wrong way of counter-acting his enemies. 6. His temperament precipitated his fall. 7. By singular lack of insight he lost the king's confidence. 8. His fall was due not to disloyalty but to the assumption of too much power, during which he committed every possible blunder. 9. Over and above all, his fall was only a question of time. It would have come even if he had conciliated the nobles. His ill-advised actions simply quickened his fall.

QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBĪS-IBLĪS OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

(Continued from p. 422 of the October 1946 Issue)

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ŠUFĪS WHEN THEY RETURN FROM A JOURNEY¹

I WOULD observe : It is part of these people's system that a returning traveller who enters a monastery in which there are several persons should not salute them till after he enters the lavatory ; when he has washed he comes and says a prayer of two inclinations, then salutes the Šaikh, and then the company. This is an innovation of the later Šufīs which violates the Code, since the Islamic jurists are agreed that, according to the Sunnah, one who arrives among people should salute them, whether he be in a state of legal purity or not : unless indeed they have taken over the practice from children, who when asked why they do not salute, say they have not washed their faces ; or possibly children have taught these innovators the practice. We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥussain a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah according to which the latter said : The Prophet said : Let the younger salute the older, him who walks him who sits, the small company the large ; this is cited in both *Šaḥīh*.

Another of their practices is to massage one who arrives from a journey in the evening. We have been informed by Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad after his father that the latter said : (*Section² dealing with the Sunnah concerning the massaging of one who arrives from a journey on the first night owing to his fatigue*), alleging the tradition of 'Umar, who said : I went to see the Prophet and found an Abyssinian slave massaging his back. I said : What is the matter with thee, O Prophet of God ?—He replied : My camel flung me on some rough ground.³

I would observe : Consider, my brethren, the legal acumen of the person who adduces this argument. He should have said : (*Section dealing with the Sunnah concerning the massaging of one who has been thrown by a camel*) then the Sunnah should be massaging of the back, not of the foot ; and how could he know that the Prophet had been on a journey and that he was massaged on the first night ? Further he makes a Sunnah of the fact that the

1. Continued from page 339 of the Arabic text.

2. Evidently a quotation from a book.

3. Ibn al-Athīr's rendering of the words in the tradition.

Prophet casually had his back massaged on account of a pain in it. Surely it would have been better to suppress this subtle attempt at a juristic inference than to record it.

Another practice of theirs is arranging a party for one who arrives, as 'Ibn Ṭāhir says : *Section dealing with their employing the guitar¹ for an arrival*, alleging the tradition of 'Ā'ishah according to which once, when the Prophet went on a journey, a Qurashite damsel vowed that if God brought him back she would play a tambour in 'Ā'ishah's house. When the Prophet returned, he said to her, If you have vowed, then play the tambour.

I would observe that we have already shown that the tambour is allowed. Since the woman vowed the performance of a legal act, the Prophet bade her perform it. How can this be alleged in defence of singing and dancing when a traveller arrives ?

ACCOUNT OF THE MODE WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THEM WHEN A DEATH OCCURS

In this matter he practises two forms of delusion. The first is that they say there must be no weeping over one who perishes, and one who does so strays from the path of the people of knowledge. Ibn 'Uqail says : This is a pretence which goes beyond the code, is foolish talk, and alien to custom and nature. Indeed it is an interference with the proper proportion of the humours, and should be treated with those drugs which restore the true proportion. God narrates of a holy prophet (XII, 84): *And his eyes were whitened with the sorrow that he was suppressing and Ah, woe is me for Joseph.*² The Prophet Muḥammad also wept over the death of his son, saying, "The eye weeps,"³ and "Oh, what grief!" Fāṭimah said : "Oh what grief to my father," and he found no fault with her. 'Umar heard Mutammim⁴ bewailing his brother and repeating :

Jadhimah's two companions we two seemed !⁵

Those twain will never part—so people deemed.

'Umar said : Would that I were a poet, so that I could bewail my brother Zaid.—Mutammim said : If my brother had died like yours, I should not

1. The text has been amended conjecturally. The word in the text means the slaughtering of a sheep, a practice abolished by Islam. Had the Sūfis reintroduced it, our author would certainly have attacked them vehemently for doing so. As his criticism is confined to music and dancing, the text must have had some word connected with this, and that which has been provisionally restored is suitable.

2. Jacob is the speaker.

3. This is given by Ahmad b. Hanbal (III, 194), Ibn Mājah, and Ibn Sa'd.

4. Mutammim b. Nuwairah, whose brother Mālik was slain by Khālid b. al-Walīd. In the *Aghānī* first ed.), XIV 66 foll. his story is told mainly from Tabarī. Several verses of the ode to which the verse here cited belongs are given there.

5. The reference is said to be to Mālik and 'Aqīl, companions of the king of Ḥīrah, Jadhimah al-Abrash. The story is told in *Aghānī*, XIV, 73.

lament him. Mālik (Mutammim's brother) had died in unbelief, whereas Zaid had died a martyr's death. 'Umar said: No one has ever consoled me for my brother's death as you have done.—Further, camels for all the coarseness of their livers, yearn after their familiar drinking-places and persons and pigeons desire their "home." Anyone, whom affliction befalls must of necessity supplicate, and one who is unmoved by joys and delights, and unaffected by disgrace is nearer a lifeless object than a human being. The Prophet made it clear that it was a defect to diverge from the path of nature: to one who said to him, "I have not kissed one of my children" (he had ten) the Prophet replied. Is it under my control that God has taken affection out of your heart?—When he departed from Mecca he kept turning towards it. One who demands what is not ordained and what is unnatural is ignorant and makes an ignorant demand. The Code is satisfied with our refraining from beating our cheeks and rending our garments; it finds no fault with flowing tears or grieving hearts.

The second delusion is their making a party, which they call a bridal feast, when anyone dies; at this they sing, dance, and play saying. Let us rejoice for the dead man's entry unto his Lord. This is a delusion from three aspects. One is that there is indeed an ordinance that food should be got for the dead man's family, since they are too much occupied with their trouble to prepare it for themselves; there is no Sunnah to the effect that the dead man's family should provide it and entertain other people therewith. The basis for the practice of getting food for a dead man's sake is a tradition told us by Abu'l-Fath al-Karukh¹ and going back to 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far,² who said: When the news of Ja'fars death arrived, the Prophet said: Prepare food for the family of Ja'far, for there has come to them what will distract them. At-Tirmidhī calls this a good, sound tradition.

The second is that they rejoice for the dead man, saying that he has entered unto his Lord. Now there is no ground for such rejoicing, since we cannot be certain that he has been pardoned, neither is there anything to assure us that we may not be rejoicing for one who is undergoing punishment.

'Umar b. Dharr³ when his son died said: Sorrowing for thee keeps me from sorrowing over thee.⁴—We have been told by 'Abd al-Awwal a tradition going back to Umm al-'Ala who said: When 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn died, the Prophet came to visit us, I then said: May God preserve

1. 462-548. Karukh was ten leagues from Herāt (Yāqūt).

2. Son of Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, who was killed at the battle of Mutāh. This 'Abdallāh died 80 A.H. according to most authorities.

3. Said to have been a leader of the Murji sect, died about 153. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, VII, 444.

4. The difference between the prepositions is clearer in the original. The first means sorrowing on his son's account, the second on his own.

you in Mercy, O, Abas Saib, I witness that God certainly entertained you (the dead). The Prophet, peace be on him, said to her, Who told you that God had entertained him?

The third is that they dance and play when this party is made and in this way they deviate from correct behaviour which prefers abandonment of such manners on these occasions. Again, if the dead man has been pardoned, then the dance and playing would not have been expressions of their thankfulness, and if the dead had been tortured, where would be the effect of mourning?

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE PEOPLE IN THE MATTER OF BURYING BOOKS AND THROWING THEM INTO THE WATER

I would observe: Some of them had indulged in compiling books. The devil deluded them and said that the aim of life is nothing but work, so they buried their books. It is stated that Aḥmed ibn 'Alī al-Ḥawārī threw his books into the sea and said, The best of guides am I; and after reaching (one's destination) to engage guides is impossible. And Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥawārī continued the search of the Ḥadīth for thirty years. When he acquired the maximum learning, he carried his books to the sea and threw them in; and he said, O, my learning, I treat you like this not because I insult you, nor do I belittle your status, but because I sought you to lead me to God, and when I have been led to God I am no more in need of you.

We have been informed by Abū Bakr ibn Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to ibn Bakawayh that he heard Abū'l-Ḥasan, the slave of Shawāna in Basrah saying that the latter heard Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Salīm say that Abū 'Abdullāh Maḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh the Ḥafīẓ said: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Abū Ḥasan al-Khallāl was a man of good understanding, patient in his search for tradition; but he also practised Ṣūfism, and would abandon tradition for a time and then resume the writing of it. I have been told that he flung into the Tigris a quantity of his original dictation.¹ His first lessons were from Abū'l-'Abbās al-Asamm and men of his period and he wrote down a great deal.

We have been told by Zāhir b. Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Abū Ṭāhir al-Junabīdhī² according to which the latter said: Mūsa b. Hārūn³ used to read to us, and when he had finished with a volume he would fling his manuscripts⁴ into the Tigris, saying, "I have delivered it."

1. This story is told in *Kitāb Baghdad*, IV, 390.

2. Account of him in *Sam'ānī*, p. 135b. where his brother is said to have died in 314.

3. Probably Abū 'Imrān al-Bazzāz ibn al-Hammāl died 294, of whom there is an account in *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIII, 50.

4. This seems to be the sense.

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ŠUFĪS IN THE
MATTER OF ABANDONING THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE¹

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Naṣr aṭ-Ṭūsī² according to which the latter said : I heard a number of the Shaikhs of Rayy say : Abū 'Abdallāh al-Muqri, inherited from his father 50,000 dinars besides estates and furniture, but gave it all away, expending on the poor.—I (said Abū Naṣr) asked Abū 'Abdallāh about this, and his reply was : In my early youth I donned pilgrim attire and departed to Meccah alone, having left myself nothing to which I could return. The effort which it cost me to relinquish my books and the knowledge and tradition which I had amassed was more painful to me than the journey to Meccah, the vexations of travel, and relinquishing my property.

We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abū'l-'Abbās b. al-Husain al-Baghdādī, according to which the latter said : I heard ash-Shiblī³ say : I know a man who did not enter this business⁴ till he had expended all his property and sunk in the Tigris seventy cases of books all written in his own script, he having memorised and read with a number of chains of authorities which he mentioned. He was referring to himself.

I would observe that it has already been stated how knowledge is light, and how the devil persuades a man to extinguish the light in order that he, the devil, may get the man into his power in the darkness, there being no darkness like ignorance. The devil, fearing that these people might go back to reading their books, whence they might obtain insight into his wiles, persuaded them to bury or destroy them. It is indeed a wicked and illicit action, involving ignorance of the purpose of books.

The explanation of this is that knowledge is the Qur'ān and the Sunnah ; the Code, being aware that memorizing these is difficult, has enjoined the writing of the Scripture and of the Tradition. With regard to the Qur'ān, when a text was revealed to the Prophet, he summoned a scribe to put it down ; it was written at that time on palm-branches,⁵ stones, and shoulder-bones. Afterwards the Qur'ān was collected into the form of a book by Abū Bakr, with the view of preserving it for his own use ; presently copies were made thence by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and the other Companions. All this was done to prevent anything missing from the Qur'ān. With regard to the Sunnah : at the commencement of Islam the Prophet restricted people to the Qur'ān, saying : Write nothing you hear

1. A Portion of this section comprising pp. 342-347 of the Arabic text was published in Vol. 3, July, 1937.

2. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, died 344. Account of him in Sam'ānī, p. 373a.

3. Famous ascetic, Dulaf b. Jahdār, died 334. Account of him in Ibn Khallikān, I, 511.

4. I.e. Šūfism.

5. The lexica render the word in the text " leafless palm-branches." Palm-leaves would seem to be a more probable writing material.

from me except the Qur'ān. Only when Traditions multiplied, and he saw people's inaccuracy, he gave permission for them to be written down. It is recorded that Abū Hurairah complained to the Prophet of the weakness of his memory, when the Prophet bade him spread out his cloak. He did so; the Prophet proceeded to talk to him, and then bade him gather the cloak to his body. "Thereafter," said Abū Hurairah, "I forgot nothing that the Prophet said to me." There is also a tradition that the Prophet said: Get your right hand to help your memory—meaning by writing. Further, 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr reported that the Prophet said: Fetter knowledge.—I (said 'Abdullāh) asked what fettering it meant. He replied: Writing it down. Rafi' b. Khudaij¹ also reported: We said: O Apostle of God, we hear things from thee, may we write them down. Write (he replied), there is no objection.

We know, too, I would observe, that the Companions registered the Prophet's utterances, movements, and actions, and that the Code was compiled from various person's records. The Prophet also said: Communicate what I say, and may God illuminate anyone who, having heard a saying of mine, memorizes it and reports it as he heard it. Now reporting a saying it is heard can scarcely be effected without writing, since the memory is deceptive. When Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal produced a tradition, he was asked to recite it to his audience: but he would say, Nay rather, from the book.—'Alī b. al-Madini² said: I was commanded by my master Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal to communicate no tradition except from a book.

When the Companions had reported the Sunnah, and the Epigoni received it from them, and the Traditionalists went on their travels, traversing East and West to procure a sentence from here and a sentence from there, ascertaining what was genuine and what was fictitious, labelling some transmitters as trustworthy and others³ as untrustworthy, revising the Sunnahs and compiling them, if the result were obliterated, all their labour would be wasted, neither would the rule of God be known when a case arose. The Code prescribes no such practice; ³ had any other before us a chain of transmitters going back to the peopl's Prophet? This is a privilege of this community.

We have been told that the Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who had traversed East and West in search of tradition, once asked his son what he had written down from a certain traditionalist. His son replied that on the Feast-day the Prophet used to go out by one route and return by another. "Good gracious," exclaimed Aḥmad, "a Sunnah of the Prophet which had never reached me!"—Such then was the language of a man who had collected so much; what must be the case of one who wrote nothing down, or

1. Companion, whose death-date is variously given as 59, 73, and 74.

2. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'fār b. Naḥīb al-Madini, died 234. Notice of him in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, p. 168 where this is recorded.

3. Tentative rendering; the text may be corrupt.

washed out anything he did write ? Tell me, pray, if writings are washed out or buried, on what will reliance be placed when judgments have to be given and emergencies arise ? On so-and-so the Ascetic or so-and-so the Šūfī, or whatever may occur to them ? We ask God's protection from error after guidance.

I would further observe : The content of the writings which they bury must be either true or false, or truth mingled with falsehood. If the content be false, they are not to be blamed for burying them. If truth is indistinguishably mingled with falsehood, destruction of such writings is excusable ; for people have written down matter dictated by the trustworthy and the mendacious ; the matter getting mixed, they have buried what they have written. This is how we are to interpret the story of Sufyān ath-Thaurī burying his books. If, however, the content be true and the Code, their destruction cannot on any ground be lawful, seeing that they register knowledge and are property. So one who proposes to destroy them should be asked what his object is. If he replies that they distract him from his devotions, three rejoinders may be given. 1. Had you understanding, you would know that being occupied with learning is the sincerest of all devotions. 2. The spiritual awakening which you have obtained does not last long and I can see that after its loss you are ashamed of what you have done and you should know that hearts cannot retain their purity ; they are defiled and often require purgation, for instance, by reading books. Yūsuf ibn Asbāt buried his books and afterwards he could not refrain from saying Ḥadīth. Thus he mentioned apostolic Traditions on recollection and made mistakes. 3. The third is that we appreciate your spiritual awakening and accept that it will last and that you are in no more need of these books ; but why did you not give it away to those students who have not obtained your place in learning, or to those who wish to be benefited by them. However, destruction of books is not permissible. Al-Marwazi said that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was asked about a person who wished that his books should be buried. Ibn Ḥanbal said that no wonder if he buried his knowledge. Al-Marwazi also said that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal used to say that 'I see no reason in burying the books.'

D.S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

A PART from the usual research work done by the professorial staff and scholars of the Osmania University in its various departments, the Nizam College (now affiliated to the State University), the Nizamiah College and the Nizamiah Observatory, we may mention among the cultural activities of Hyderabad, the useful work carried out by the Hyderabad Academy, the Hyderabad Educational Conference, the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif and the Idāra-e-Adibiyāt-e-Urdu.

(a) The Hyderabad Academy was started in 1939 with the object of "providing the scholars of Hyderabad with a venue for discussing the subjects of their research in a scholarly but, as far as possible non-technical manner." Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar are patrons of the Academy. Its formal inauguration took place on the 6th of November 1941 by H.H. the Prince of Berar, in presence of distinguished gathering of scholars and government officials. The Academy publishes the lectures delivered by its members at its annual public meetings, to which all educated persons are freely invited. Sometimes scholars who are not members but are desirous of describing the results of their research are also invited to read their papers at the annual meetings, with the regular members. In addition to lectures, papers written on special subjects such as literature, history, philosophy, law, astronomy, geophysics, and mathematics are also published by the Academy in its annual issues, under the designation of Hyderabad Academy Studies.

Up till now eight volumes of these studies have been issued. The fourth, fifth and seventh are in Urdu, the rest in English. In view of the warm appreciation accorded to them both in India and abroad we give here a list of the papers published and the names of authors :

Studies No. I, 1939 :

- (1) *The Zodiacal Light*, by Mohd. A.R. Khan.
- (2) *Modern Tendencies in Mathematics*, by M. Raziuddin Siddiqi.

- (3) *Schopenhauer's Method of Institution*, by Mir Valiuddin.
- (4) *Immanuel Kant on the Problems of Beauty and Art*, by Syed Wahiduddin.
- (5) *Law of Bait-ul-Māl*, by 'Abdul Qadīr Şiddīqī and Syed 'Abdul Laţif.
- (6) *Mythology of the Arabs before Islam*, by M. 'Abdul Mu'īd Khān.
- (7) *The Tatimma-Şiwān'il-Hikmah of Baihaqi*, by Sayyid Kalimullah Husaini.
- (8) *Character and Personality of Abu'l-Hasan Quṭub Shāh* by 'Abdul Majīd Şiddīqī.

Studies No. II 1940 :

- (1) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Hyderabad, with a record of some interesting Statistics of Meteorite Falls and Finds over the Earth*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) *The Zodiacal Light* (Second Paper), Ditto.
- (3) *Place of Islam in the History of Modern International Law*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (4) *The Problem of the One and the Many in Islamic Mysticism*, by Mir Valiuddin
- (5) *The Mighty Continuum*, by Sir Amīn Jung.
- (6) *Kant and the Problem of Design and Purpose in Nature*, by S. Wahīduddin.
- (7) *Vedic Scheme of a Life of Perfect Concord*, by G. Dhareshwar.
- (8) *The Indian Educational Policy*, by Mīr Ahmad 'Alī Khān.
- (9) *Mathematical Methods for the Unification of Physical Theories*, by M.R. Şiddīqī.

Studies No. III, 1941 :

- (1) *The Conception of Self-Determination in Islamic Mysticism*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (2) *An Analysis of Sir Shāh Mohd. Sulaimān's Scientific Work*, by M.R. Siddīqī.
- (3) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Begumpet in 1940*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (4) *The Religious Attitude of Fichte*, by S. Wahīduddin.

(5) *The Indian Educational Policy, Paper II*, by M. Aḥmad 'Alī Khan.

(6) *The Heart, Soul and Spirit of Hinduism*, by G. Dhareśwar.

(7) *The Aims and Methods of Modern Education*, by K.M. Yusuf-uddin.

(8) *Need for Better Co-operation between Oriental Scientists and Arabic Scholars*, by M.A.R. Khan.

Studies No. IV, 1942 :

(1) *Scientific Researches of Arab and other Muslim Scholars in the Middle Ages*, by M.A.R. Khan.

(2) *'Adam-e-Naskh-e-Qur'ān*, by 'Abd'ul-Qadīr Ṣiddīqī.

(3) *Hindū Mat kī Rūḥ*, by G. Dhareśwar.

(4) *Tadwīn-e-Qānūn-e-Islāmī of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah*, by M. Ḥamīd-ullāh.

(5) *Evolution of the Universe*, by M.R. Ṣiddīqī.

(6) *System of Education during the Quṭb Shāhī Period*, by M. Aḥmad 'Alī Khān.

(7) *Qur'ān and the Moulding of Character*, by M. Valiuddin.

Studies No. V, 1943 :

(1) *Teaching and Learning in India, during the Islamic Period*, by Manāẓir Aḥsan Gilānī.

(2) *Possibility of Life on Planets*, by M.A.R. Khan.

(3) *Firoz Shah Bahmani*, by 'Abdul Majīd Ṣiddīqī.

(4) *Influence of the Economic System of Arabia of the Jāhilyah Period on the Establishment of the First Islamic State*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.

(5) *Qur'ānic Conception of a Successful Life*, by M. Valiuddin.

(6) *Iqbāl's Theory of Time and Space*, by M.R. Ṣiddīqī.

(7) *اسانوں اور جانوروں کا اکتاب* D.D. Shendarkar.

Studies No. VI, 1944 :

(1) *State and Education in India*, by M.A. Ali Khan.

(2) *Hegel's Philosophy of World Civilization*, by S. Wahiduddin.

(3) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Begumpet in 1941*, by M.A.R. Khan.

(4) *Ditto in 1942 : Ditto.*

- (5) *Influence of Roman Law on Muslim Law*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (6) *The Thunderstorms and Lightning Strokes of June 17, 1937 at Hyderabad*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (7) *Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space*, by M.R. Siddiqi.

Studies No. VII, 1945 :

- (1) *The Realities of Human Life*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) اداره جنگ کی مہاشی توجہ M. Abdul Qadir.
- (3) *The Origin of Persian Poetry and its History*, by Qāri S. Kalim-ullāh.
- (4) *Iqbal's Theory of Intellect (عقل) and Love*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (5) *Post-War Education Scheme*, by K.M. Yusufuddin.

Studies No. VIII, 1946 :

- (1) *Synopsis of Meteor Observation in 1943 and 1944* by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) *The Conception of ما (Passing Away) in Islamic Mysticism*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (3) *Scientific Education and Research*, by M.R. Siddiqi.
- (4) *Contribution of Modern Hyderabad to Islamic Studies*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (5) *The Zodiacal Light (Third Paper)*, by M.A.R. Khan.

(b) The Hyderabad Educational Conference was constituted in 1931 for helping deserving students with scholarships issued as loans to be repaid on employment. The amount spent on scholarships this year is nearly seventeen hundred per mensem. It is a great satisfaction to note that scores of extremely well-to-do persons in the country, some holding important administration posts, have at one time been recipients of these scholarships. Recently the conference has been receiving grants from local industrial and trade concerns through the kind offices of Government for helping students with text-books and other necessary articles. It hopes to have soon a good library and has constituted a publication board for issuing annually an educational journal, discussing modern trends in education and post-war educational planning in various countries.

(c) The Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif is an institution of international reputation. It has published important Arabic works from rare manuscripts.

(d) The Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu has published a number of useful works on Urdu literature, local and general history, etc.

Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Jung (Khan Bahadur Ahmad Alladin) whose educational endowments are well known, has recently returned from Haj. Drs. Mir Valiuddin and Muhammad Hamidullah have also gone to Hijaz with the same object. The former gentleman was elected Amir-e-Haj by the Haj Committee in Bombay, and the latter was appointed Qāfila Sālār of the Hājīs of Hyderabad this year. Both of them are sure to bring back encouraging news concerning the cultural activities of the Arab world.

M.A.R.K.

DECCAN

Temple at Nandurbar :

MR. P. K. GODE, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, has very ably described the history of the Jatasamkara Temple at Nandurbar (last issue of the *Journal* of the Bombay University). He has mainly based his thesis on the discovery of verses of Hari Kavi which he found in a MS in the Bhandarkar Institute. He has also mentioned something of Hari Kavi who was a Maharashtra Brahmana. Hari Kavi describes Nandurbar as an abode of happiness, with contented people. This description of Nandurbar recorded about A.D. 1685 (during the reign of Aurangzēh) appears to be true to history. He has also traced the genealogy of Hari's family from his grandfather Shanti (c A.D. 1575 to Hari Kavi A.D. 1685). We know it for certain that Mr. Gode has never visited Nandurbar, therefore it will suffice to add here that Nandurbar was first visited by Ibn Battūṭah during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq and he stayed here for some time and speaks of it as being a town of orthodox Marathas (Arabic text, *Travels*, II, 106. He transcribes it as Nazarbāt). After that this has been a very flourishing town during the regeme of Gujarat Sultanate. And even today Nandurbar is full of both Muslim and Hindu antiquities of a great historical value.

History of Divali Festival :

The last issue of the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, contains an important contribution by Mr. P. K. Gode on *Studies in the History of Hindu Festivals—Some Notes on the History of Divali Festival*. Mr. Gode has really taken great pains to trace the history of the celebrations of Divali in India from the very beginning and according to his habit, we understand hardly any source would have escaped from his studies. As far as Muslim sources are concerned he has availed only three

viz., al Bīrūnī's *Tārīkh-i-Hind*, Divali is noted as *Dibali* and its origin is given as the liberation of Bali on this day by Lakshmi, wife of Vasudeva. *Apabhanmisa* by 'Abdur-Rahmān of Multan mentions *Dīpavali* night with illumination of mansions by ladies alround, ladies applying the collyrium of these lamps to their eyes and resemblance of Divali lamps to the crescent moon, Abu'l-Fadl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* mentions Divali as the greatest festival of the Vaisya caste and illumination of lamps as on the Muslim festival *Shab-i-Barāt*. It seems necessary to cite here for Mr. Gode's information that when Sultān Muẓaffar II (A.D. 1517) of Gujarat was busy in his campaign at Mandu against Mednī Rai to restore Sultān Maḥmūd Khakīl of Malwa, he found there the Hindus enjoying their festival of Holi even while they were besieged. During the reign of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat (A.D. 1537) the celebration of Holi and Divali was regarded as the habit of non-Muslims. (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, 104, 333).

Architect of Jaipur :

Very recently the admirers of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, a great Sanskrit scholar of the South, have paid him a great tribute by presenting a commemoration volume, which has been contributed by various great scholars of Sanskrit lore. Accordingly Mr. Gode has written on *Two Contemporary Tributes to Minister Vidyadhara, the Bengali Architect of Jaipur at the Courts of Sevai Jaising of Amber* (A.D. 1688-1743). He writes: "In the current description of the Jaipur City we are told that this city was founded by Raja Sevai Jaising of Amber in 1728. No reference is made in these descriptions to the architect who was responsible for the planning and laying out of the Jaipur City as we find it today. This architect was no other than Vidyadhara to whom a tribute has been paid by his contemporary at the court of Sevai Jaising (A.D. 1699-1743) in the following verses"—verses in Hindi are given in full with a translation into English. These verses were composed by one Girdhari who wrote this description in A.D. 1739, i.e., when the city was ten years old and its founder Sevai Jaising and his able architect Vidyadhara were ruling. We have nothing to say as to this account of Girdhari but it seems necessary that we should add here for further information that Abu'l-Khayr Mirzā Khayr-Allāh, the second son of Luṭfullāh, son of Aḥmad who flourished during the reign of Muhammad Shāh, was known, for his command of mathematics and astronomy, by the title of Muhandis, which had been his father's surname. The author Bindra Ban Khushgo has mentioned in his compilation the *Safina-i-Khushgo*: "Rajadhiraj Jai Singh Sawai, landlord of Amber (known afterwards as Jaipur) has spent about twenty millions in erecting observatories in consultation with Abu'l-Khayr Mirzā Khayr Allāh, who was an outstanding authority on that particular branch of science." (vide *Bankipore Library Catalogue*, No. 25, p. 103.).

Tāha Husain—Eyeless Doyen of Egyptian Literature:

The Sunday Edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay (October 6, 1946) bears a sketch of Tāha Husain under this heading by Paul Tabori, which we regard a best life-sketch of this great scholar of Arabic literature. He writes: "Tāha Husain is a tall, slender man in his mid-fitness, his name stands for modern Egyptian literature as George Bernard Shaw or H. G. Wells would represent Britain, or Thomas Mann, Germany. His books are read all over the Arab world; some of them have been translated into English and French. He was one of the first Egyptians to apply scientific methods of analysis to Arabic literature, his daring innovations in the teaching and interpretation of the Arabic classics involved him in a famous and vigorous fight with the Rector of the Azhar, the greatest Muslim University of the world. He has been Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Giza and defended its academic independence against all attacks of reaction; and, as Director of Culture and acting Under-Secretary of State for Education, he was largely responsible for the creation of the new Fārūq University at Alexandria, of which he became acting Rector. This is a list of achievements and rewards which would be remarkable in any man—but in Tāha Husain's case they border on the miraculous. For he is blind, blind since early childhood and had to overcome the greatest handicap any scholar could face in his life. He was born the son of a poor family. Blindness cut him off from his surroundings and his companions. Only gradually and with difficulty did he become aware of the world around him. But by means of imagination he more than made up for the lack of sight. He insisted that he should be sent to school; and like any other boy he took his share of work and play and success and humiliation. He learned the Qur'ān by heart prodigiously early, only to forget it again at the crucial moment when his father surprised him with a test. But in the end his ambitions were realized and at the age of thirteen he was sent up to Cairo in an elder brother's charge to study at Al-Azhar. The years he spent there and the years of his childhood are movingly and beautifully described in *An Egyptian Childhood* and the *Stream of Days* both of which were translated into English and French. A representative body of teachers chose him to study at the Sorbonne. The years he spent in France were especially happy for him: he absorbed Latin culture with avid thirst and here he found the girl he married. He calls her 'my seeing eye,' 'my walking cane.' How a blind Egyptian boy wooed and won his lovely lady makes one of the most beautiful love stories of our times—but it is one Tāha Husain has always refused to tell. I met him in a cool, darkened room. He had none of the hesitations, the little uncertainties of the blind; he bent his head to exactly the right distance for the match which lit his cigarette; when he spoke in melodious perfectly phrased French, he kept his thin, ascetic face with the dark glasses shielding his eyes turned towards me though he could only sense where I was sitting. I asked him about the main trends of modern Egyptian

literature. 'There are really two main schools—the classic and the modernistic,' he explained in a careful, precise tone. 'The classic goes back partly to the heyday of Muslim culture and partly finds its inspiration in 19th century French and English literatures. These sub-directions are all clearly separated though sometimes they overlap. The modernistic style experiments with the use of living idiom and thought. I must confess that I belong to the classical school, I find it extremely interesting. One of our eminent scientists, for instance, has recently published a work on medicine which is entirely written in this vulgar, I might say, street corner language. The effect is startling and very salutary—for it brings abstract ideas close to the average man and helps him to understand facts which in the past were wrapped in mystical verbiage.' His own style is a model of lucidity and charm: yet it is intensely individual. It has less colour than sound in it; but there is no uncertainty about it. Sometimes he sounds a little repetitions; this is due to the rhythm of his thoughts which resemble the living, beating rhythm of the Bible or the Qur'ān. He told me how anxious Arab writers are to keep in touch with their colleagues in the West. 'I have just accepted the chairmanship of a new publishing house,' he told me, 'whose main task it will be to provide an opportunity for our younger writers and at the same time publish translations of British, American, Canadian, Australian and European works of these great literatures. We are also starting a magazine in which we will regularly publish essays and short stories of foreign authors; and it is our plan to have the articles dealing with Arab life and letters translated into English and French regularly, so that the West should have an idea of the spirit of the literary movements in our part of the world.' I asked him about his own forthcoming books. Tāḥa Ḥusain is not only a novelist, historian and essayist of great power; he is also a forceful political writer. He was the only man who dared to criticize some phases of Zagloul Pasha's political career. They were friends; yet the blind author did not shrink from speaking out when all the country was behind Zagloul. The controversy died long ago; but the memory of his courage remained. 'I have finished two books,' he told me, 'One is about social justice—I would like to explain to my countrymen its exact meaning and its imputations; its application to our own particular problems. The other is a series of stories set in times of the Khalif Ḥusain when Islamic democracy began to decline and the first autocrat arose in our history. Both should be out within a few months.'

"From his quiet study the blind man who was born in a peasant's hut guides modern Egyptian literature in which he is the most powerful figure, the dominant influence."

Illustration from the Ḥamza Nāma :

The latest issue of the Baroda State Museum Bulletin (II, pt. I) bears

an article on *An Illustration of the Hamza Nāma, the Earliest Mughal Manuscript* by H. Goetz, the curator of the Museum, which he has traced from the same museum. Dr. Goetz according to his habit has tried to trace the origin of the compilation of the *Hamza Nāma* which we regard a bit out of tune because it takes away the reader to another track instead of following the description of the painting reproduced therein, which is also not according to the text found within this miniature. Here we should add that the illustrations of the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* were not only made under the supervision of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Tabrēzī as Dr. Goetz has pointed out but Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad Shīrīn Qalam was also responsible for the illustrations and the calligraphy of the text of the stories. They both had entered Humāyūn's service in 1549 while he was at Kābul and returning to India. Dr. Goetz has appended a useful bibliography at the end of his article. There is one publication by Stanely Clark under the name of *Indian Drawings: Twelve Mughal Paintings of the school of Humāyūn illustrating the Romance of Amīr Hamza*, London, 1921. It was necessary for Dr. Goetz to see this at least very carefully which must have given him the information that the calligraphy of these specimens of the illustrations of the *Hamza Nāma* lying in the South Kensington Museum was executed by Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad Shīrīn Qalam, which was deciphered by the late Prof. Hāfiz Mahmūd Khān Shairānī. *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza's* text has already been published in several volumes both in Iran (in Persian) and in India (in Urdu) and these stories are well known. No doubt it is still a problem, as to when actually these stories either under the title of *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* or *Qissa-i-Amīr Hamza* or *Hamza Nāma* were composed. Its one manuscript is lying in the Tonk State library about which the late Prof. Shairānī after studying it, being a resident of Tonk State, used to say that this compilation was the product of the Tughluq period. Its beginning runs thus :

” بنام خداے عزوجل کہ آدمی را ہر جمیع مخلوقات شریف گردانیدہ بلکہ اکثر از ہوام
و سوام و وحوش و طیور از قدرت خود مطیع او گردانیدہ صلوات والسلام علی البی
محمد وآلہ اجمعین اعلم الکل اہل البزم ہذا المجلس ای قصہ امیر المومنین حمزہ ابن
عبد المطلب مشتمل بر ہفتاد و سہ داستان است۔ داستان اول از پیدایشدن
بز در جمہر حکیم “

It is reliably brought to our notice that Prof. Na'imu'd-Dīn of the Robertson College, Jubalpoore has undertaken the critical study of the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza. Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* (Barni, 468) may be helpful in this respect.

History of Kangra Paintings :

Dr. Goetz writes in his bulletin (II, pt. I) : " The rise of the Kangra School of Rajput painting, for instance, is the result of the collapse of Mughal rule in the Panjab, between 1738 and 1762. Though already towards the end of Aurangzēb's reign most of the Panjab hill States had become practically independent Finally the immigration of skilled refugees from the plains brought a lot of new inspiration reviving an artistic tradition, which since the decay of Nurpur and Basohli, the leading States under the Mughal rule, had quickly degenerated." Dr. Goetz very carefully divides the history of Kangra painting into six sub-heads, viz —(1) The preparatory stage of the Guler School. It was founded by Govardhan Chand (1730-60), the peaceful ruler who gave asylum to Mughal artists who had fled from the invasion of Nādir Shāh. In his buildings at Bathu and Jawali and in the paintings of his court first Mughal elements were introduced, and even superseded the earlier ' Basohli ' tradition. After 1758 the Guler School was more and more absorbed by Kangra. (2) The Mughal-Pahari School, ca. 1750-1760 : The repeated invasion of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and the collapse of Mughal rule in the Panjab brought another wave of refugee artists whose building and painting activities can be traced at Kangra (Ndaun), Mandi, Chamba, Basohli and Bhāndralta (Ramnagar). (3) The early Kangra School, ca. 1760-1775 : With the growing self-assertion of the Rajput States, especially after the death of Adīna Bēg, the adopted Mughal style was increasingly reinterpreted in a Rajput spirit (musical, flat design and romantic themes). The new style was evolved especially at the court of Ghamand Chand Katoch (1751-1774) whom Ahmad Shāh had invested with the governorship over the Kangra hills, and who slowly emerged as the leading power. (4) The zenith of Kangra art, ca. 1775-1804, when Sansar Chand II Katoch (1775-1823) dominated all the hills between the Sutlej and Ravi. (5) The break-up of the Kangra School, 1804- ca. 1830-40 : The defeat of Sansar Chand, the five years' siege of Kangra fort (1804-1809) and the devastation of the Katoch Raj by the Gurkhas and their Rajput confederates dispersed the artists of the original Kangra School. Sansar Chand, finally a vassal of Ranjit Singh of Lahore (1809), like all the hill Rajas, could revive it only on a very small scale, his revenues having declined from 35 millions rupees to 70,000. But most of the artists had found a refuge in the other Rajput States, Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur, even Garhwal where the tradition was continued until the growing oppression of the Sikhs after the death of Ranjit Singh 1839 further undermined the remaining economic foundations of artistic life. Under these rulers the old Sansar Chand (1812-1823), Gharhat Singh of Chamba (1808-1844), Isvar Sen of Mandi (1788-1826), and Sudarshan Shah of Garhwal (1815-1859), the vitality, chivalrous joy and mystic rapture of the high Kangra style were more and more superseded by a

heavy and ornate weariness, or fashionable recklessness. (6) The disintegration of the 'Kangra' School, *ca.* 1830/40-1900: Now the style degenerated into a lifeless mannerism, temporarily regalanised by new European influence, but finally reduced to a primitive folk art." In this respect Dr. Herman Goetz has concluded that Mandi played an important role and he has reproduced a rare specimen of the portrait of Raja Isvar Sen of Mandi (A.D. 1788-1826), which is really a very fine specimen of the painting of this period.

M.A.C.

DELHI

Third Meeting of the Central Board of Archæology :

THE third Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archæology was held in the Chamber of the Council of State, New Delhi, on September 10, 1946. There was a distinguished gathering present and apart from the representatives of the Department itself, the Government of India, the Inter-University Board, learned All-India Societies taking an interest in history and archæology, the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, the Political Department and the Department of Education, Government of India were all represented. What was particularly noticeable was that, except for the Muslim members of the Archæological Department, none too many, there were only two Muslim members of the Board present, namely, Mr. Sultān Muḥiyuddin, Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, and Mr. H.K. Sherwani, ex-Principal of the Nizam College. In the absence of Hon. Sir Shafā'at Aḥmad Khān, Member of the Interim Government in charge of Education, Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee of Calcutta took the Chair.

The Director-General of Archæology, Dr. E. Mortimer-Wheeler, read a very interesting report in which, among other things, he mentioned the conservation work executed in the Dargah of Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Fatīḥpur Sikri, where 1862 bags of cement have been pumped into the structure and steel tie-rods have been inserted. Moreover the underground tanks and water-channels which had been blocked for ages have been cleared. The cost of the completed work would be about a lakh of rupees. The Director-General further mentioned the restoration of the Mughal 'Idgāh at Agra at the cost of about 15,000 rupees and minor repairs done to Tughlaqābād and Shēr Shāh's Gateway in the Delhi Circle. He promised the completion of the work at Ibrāhīm Rauda at Bijāpūr, while he showed his anxiety regarding what he called the greatest problem at Bijāpūr, *i.e.*, the problem of replastering the Göl Gumbad, the second largest dome in the whole world.

Apart from these works on Medieval monuments the Department had been doing extensive conservation and excavation work on many

more Hindu sites such as Mahabalipuram, Tanjore, Cannanore, Aiholi, and elsewhere apart from valuable work at Harappa and Bassein.

The remarkable thing about the report was its candidness, and he definitely and categorically avowed that many important ancient buildings nominally "preserved" by the Department were in a condition "ranging from bad to deplorable," that very few sites controlled by the survey were supplied with departmental placards or literature for sale, and that the average condition of the wall-paintings throughout India was "exceedingly unworthy."

There was a long and interesting discussion on the Report. Dr. R.C. Mozumdar raised the point of the succession of the present D-G and insisted that when time came for the retirement of the present Director it should not be necessary to import an outsider. Moreover he stressed the need for the recruitment of new efficient hands, and Dr. Wheeler should see that merely raw demobilised army officers who knew nothing about any aspect of archæology should not find their way into the Department. He also proposed that facilities should be given to the present senior members of the staff of the Department for refresher courses and training abroad.

Mr. H.K. Sherwani spoke next and said that the Director-General's report was most praiseworthy in that he did not try to hide the weaknesses of his Department and he was really reaping the heritage left to him by some of his predecessors. The speaker congratulated him for his frankness and hoped that this would lead the further betterment of the Department. He drew the attention of the Director-General to numerous very important monuments which had not yet been "preserved" to his knowledge, such as the tomb of the founder of the Sultanate of Delhi, Qutb-u'd-Din Aibak, which was situated in the verandah of a private building at Lahore, and the Supurgāh of Bābar at Agra which was being used as a granary sometime ago. Certain important monuments which were supposed to have been "conserved" were surrounded by acacia trees and other shrubs, and on the roofs of which grass was growing, leading to the fast decay of the monuments; he cited the case of 'Abd'un-Nabī kī Masjid which is situated midway between New Delhi and Old Delhi. There were many more monuments like this. He referred to the Director-General's remark about mural paintings, and particularly cited the case of the frescoes at Āsār Mahal at Bijapur and at Komatgi. Finally he took an objection to the name of the newly started magazine of the Department, *Ancient India*, which was a misnomer as the Department dealt with both the ancient and the medieval periods of Indian history. He confessed that the word "ancient" had been used for everything of the pre-Mutiny period in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, but this ran counter to all connotations of the term and was obviously incorrect. He suggested that the magazine should be renamed *Indian Archæology* or some other suitable name.

Professor Siddhanta insisted that there should be no further importation of foreigners in the Department. Mr. Karkarker of Poona pointed out certain sites in the Southern Maratha country where work might be commenced with advantage. Mr. Justice Edgeley proposed that an archaeological mission should be sent to Balkh with the permission of the Afghan Government and offered the co-operation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. Tarachand was the last to speak on the Report. The Director-General replied to the discussion in suitable words and thanked the members for taking such a keen interest in the work of the Department, and promised to abide by the spirit of the discussion.

Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan proposed and Dr. Wheeler seconded that the following members of the Board be elected members of the newly formed Standing Committee :

Mr. Justice Edgeley (Calcutta),
Dr. S.N. Sen (Delhi),
Professor Siddhanta (Lucknow),
Mr. H.K. Sherwani (Hyderabad),
Dr. R.C. Mozumdar (Calcutta),
Dr. Tarachand (Allahabad).

The proposal was carried unanimously.

When the memorandum containing a list of the publication of the Department was placed before the Board, Mr. Sherwani moved that the name of the Journal, *Ancient India* should be changed to *Indian Archaeology* or some other suitable name. The matter was referred to the new Executive Committee. In the same way the full scheme of the Indian National Museum along with the report of the Gwyer Committee was referred to the Standing Committee for report, although the Board decided that the initial part of the work should be commenced without delay.

The following two propositions were then formally moved by Mr. Sherwani :

(1) That the Director-General of Archaeology be requested to publish a list of monuments preserved in each Circle.

(2) That in order to facilitate identification by interested sight-seers the Department of Archaeology be requested to affix an indicator to every monument preserved describing its name and its artistic or historical importance, such as has been done in the case of the more important of our monuments.

Both these propositions were accepted by Dr. Wheeler who said that steps had already been taken to implement the principles underlying the proposals.

At this stage Mr. R.C. Morris made certain proposals with regard to cairns and other ancient monuments in Coimbatore and Madura Districts and archaeological survey from the air, which were accepted.

It was decided that the next meeting of the Board be held at Poona in the middle of January, 1947. The meeting came to an end at 2 p.m.

In the afternoon the Director-General was at home to the members of the Board at the Central Asian Antiquities Museum where they were shown photographs of the new excavations at Harappa as well as the wonderful frescoes from Chinese Turkistan which had been bodily brought down from Central Asia some time ago and formed the most important part of the Museum.

H.K.S.

The recent disturbances which resulted in the imposition of curfew by the authorities made it difficult for cultural societies to function, because the evenings, which were usually allotted to meetings, had to be spent at home. However, cultural activities, in spite of these difficulties languished but did not die.

Inter-Asian Conference :

The Indian Council of World Affairs is making brisk preparations for holding a pan-Asiatic Conference for the discussion of problems of common interest. Some countries have accepted the invitations to send delegates, and it is intended to hold the conference in March 1947.

Conference of Muslim Countries :

Mr. M.A. Jinnah is trying to hold a conference of Muslim countries at Delhi to discuss the difficulties which confront the Muslim countries. These conferences will result in establishing cultural contacts with Eastern countries.

Indo-Iranian Cultural Society :

A society was formed at Delhi to establish cultural relations with Iran ; but because it depended on the help of the Government of India, the complexion of which has been changing so often and so rapidly, it has not yet started work. It is very much hoped that the new government will not permit it to die. As a gesture of good-will between India and Iran, a number of Iranian students were invited to India. The first batch are about to finish their studies. The interests which India has aroused in Iran can be gauged from the fact that even students not sponsored by the government are coming to India. One such student is Mr. G. Ferhad

Moezzi (Farhād Mu'izī) who is a research student at the University of Delhi writing a thesis on *A Comparative Study of Ancient Persian and Sanskrit Philology*.

Indian Students for Iran :

Some time ago the Iranian Government invited the Government of India to send Indian students to Teheran for higher studies at the University. The Iranian government will bear all their expenses and the Indian government is, I believe, about to select suitable candidates.

Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Jubilee :

The Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Islāmīyah celebrated its Jubilee in November. In spite of the recent disturbances in Delhi and the massacre at Garh Mukteshwar which is so near Delhi, the function was very successful. Apart from the main function which was presided over by H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal and attended by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, M. Abu'l Kalam Azād, members of the Central Government, politicians, delegates of universities and learned societies and many others, a number of subsidiary functions were organised. One interesting feature was the exhibition which in addition to the handiwork of the students contained manuscripts and Indo-Muslim paintings of the Mughal school. Another attraction was the Mushā'irah. The Jāmi'ah collected about ten lakhs of rupees and now intends to start various new departments, including a research bureau. If this materializes, the Jāmi'ah, which has hitherto mostly concentrated on elementary and secondary education, may now begin to make some contribution to higher learning.

Anglo-Arabic College :

The only Muslim constituent college of the Delhi University, the Anglo-Arabic College is one of the oldest Muslim educational institutions. Professor H.K. Sherwani (formerly Professor of History and Politics at the Osmania University has now taken up its principalship and it is hoped that under his able guidance, the college will make great progress. The University of Delhi is expanding very rapidly and unless the college keeps pace, this institution, already backward, will remain far behind its sister institutions. The principal's effort will be seriously hampered if financial difficulties which baulk the management at every step continue any longer. The Anglo-Arabic College is intimately connected with the history of the Aṣāf Jāhī family of Hyderabad

and it would be a pity if the capital of India does not have a Muslim college worthy of the great traditions of Delhi. The principal has put new life into students' activities, particularly the Arabic and Persian societies where all members must speak Arabic and Persian respectively, in which languages the entire proceedings are conducted.

A Private Collection of Manuscripts :

Khan Bahadur Maulawī Zafar Hasan, formerly of the Archæological Survey of India, has a good collection of manuscripts in Arabic and Persian as well as of *Farmāns*, *Parwānahs*, *Taṣṣīhahs* and other documents of times. Students of history will be glad to know that the learned Maulawī is soon publishing a scientific catalogue of his collection.

I.H.Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

HIS Majesty the King George VI of England visited graciously the Islamic Cultural Centre in London in March 1946. This Royal visit was described by an English journal *Endeavour* of London in an article entitled *Islam's Contribution to Science*, which has been reproduced in a Muslim daily of Calcutta. The contributor of this article is inspired with the hope that the above institution will help the Muslim scientific genius, long dormant, in waking up with all its former energy and vision. This forecast of a possible future has been made from a survey of the glorious records of the Muslim scientists in the heyday of Islam. In reviewing some of the important contributions of these scientists, he says that al-Battānī, for instance, who died in 929 A.D. accurately determined the inclination of the ecliptic, the length of the tropical year, and the mean motion of the sun; he proved the possibility of annular eclipses: he recalculated the value of the precession of the equinoxes and his careful observations of lunar and solar eclipses were reliable enough to be used, as recently as 1749, by the English astronomer Dunthorne in calculating the secular acceleration of the mean motion of the moon. In Muslim physics the leading figure was Ibn al-Haitham, known to the West as Al-Hazen (965-1038/9). A man of outstanding genius, he opposed the idea, held by most of the ancient philosophers including Euclid that the eye transmits rays to the object of vision, and maintained on the contrary that the cause of vision proceeds from the object seen. He discovered one of the fundamental laws of the reflection of light, namely that the angle of incidence and the angle of reflection lie in the same plane. He studied Spherical and parabolic mirrors, and one of the problems connected with them that he attempted to solve is still known by his name. ' Given the

position of a luminous point and of the eye, to find the point on a spherical, cylindrical, or conical mirror at which the reflection of a pencil of rays takes place. Al-Hazen treated of the rainbow, the halo, treated of the height of the homogeneous atmosphere, and was the first physicist to describe the human eye in detail. His study of a "burning-sphere" exhibits a profound and accurate conception of the laws of refraction of light and the nature of focusing, magnifying and inversion of the image, and of the formation of bright rings and colours by experiments.' In the first recorded use of the Camera obscura, he observed the semi-lunar shape of the image of the sun during eclipses. Again al-Birūnī (973-1048?) is remembered for his experimental skill in determining specific gravities by the 'Eureka can' method. The principle was that of Archimedes, but al-Birūnī made his determinations with a precision that evokes admiration: his figures for the specific gravities of gold (19.05), mercury (13.74), copper (8.83), iron (7.74), tin (7.15), and lead (11.29) are astonishingly close to modern values. And so al-Khāzinī, who lived a century later, carried accuracy to even greater lengths, and showed that both water at the freezing point and hot water were of smaller density than water at an intermediate temperature. He further observed that the buoyancy of the air must affect the value of the weight of an object weighed in it. From such facts and figures, his claim to have constructed a balance accurate to 0.06 gm. on a load of 2.2 kg. may well be admitted. It is indeed, substantiated by other available evidence, from which the sensitiveness of a scientific balance of the time might be judged to have reached, on occasion, the remarkable limit of a milligram or so. In the field of Chemistry, besides the original contribution of Geber (Jābir ibn Hayyān) and Rhazes (Abū Zakariyya Ar-Rāzī), it seems probable that sulphuric and nitric acids were first prepared by Muslim chemists, and by the thirteenth century cupellation, the 'parting' of gold and silver, the extraction of silver by amalgamation with mercury, and the quantitative analysis of gold-silver alloys, were all being carried out as routine operations at the Cairo mint. Geography, Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy and Meteorology were also served by talented disciples. The greatest botanist of Islām, Ibn al-Baitār (ob. 1248) flourished at too late a period for his work to exert any marked influence upon European science, but his botanical treatises though based upon earlier writings represent a very notable advance. The writer of this discourse finishes with the following thoughtful and tangible remarks, which are worthy of much consideration. Muslims of those past centuries regarded scientific knowledge as of the highest importance, and 'with interest came method: a rationalistic habit of mind and an experimental temper.' The rise and decline of intellectual activity and productivity remain inexplicable phenomena: but it is permissible to believe that what man has done man can do. A large part of the Islamic world has yet to acquire adequate educational facilities, even remotely comparable with those of Europe or America, and until that defect is remedied it must be idle to

expect to recapture former glories. We do not doubt, however, that Islam represents a vast but untapped reservoir of scientific ability with an unpredictable proportion of genius with which the world can ill afford to neglect. Given the opportunity Islam may again find a place in the van of scientific progress.

It was also reported in the Calcutta press that the afore-mentioned Islamic Cultural Centre has been performing a valuable service to Islam and Islamic relation with the world at large. Each month there has been a lecture of Islamic interest, usually by a visiting Muslim scholar, but occasionally by a non-Islamic authority. Distinguished speakers have included Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī, Mr. Naur (?) Bahadur, Prof. Denis Saurat, Prof. Gibb, and Dr. Quadir, a former Professor of Law at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, but at present Director of the Centre. The Centre is in constant contact with the world-known London and Woking Mosques, and every Islamic festival is celebrated at Regent's Lodge, a handsome red-brick mansion on the edge of Regent's Park. A distinguished Muslim seldom visits Britain without being the guest of honour at a Regent's Lodge reception. Recent reception guests at the Centre include the Nawab Zain Yar Jung of Hyderabad, the Emir Feisal of Sa'ūdī Arabia and King 'Abdullāh of Trans-Jordan. For its fine Islamic Library, the Centre is chiefly indebted to King Fārūq. The Library alone—it is unique in Britain—is now of very considerable momentary value, its culture value is immeasurable. The Centre proposes to establish a school for over 400 Muslim children living in East London. They are being educated in ordinary English schools. The new Islamic school will be designed to supplement their Western education by acquainting them with Muslim culture generally Islamic history, art and philosophy. A second project of the Centre is a journal, which will probably emerge early in 1947.

It is a matter of poignant grief to learn that Professor Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaq, Head of the Arabic and Persian Department, Presidency College Calcutta, died in June 1946. He had not yet finished the fourth decade of his age; so in his premature and sad demise, the Calcutta University has lost a talented and erudite scholar. He was reputed for having a facile pen in Arabic as well as in English. He began his career by writing articles in *Ma'ārif*, *A'zamgarh*. Some of which are: (1) *Tadhkira of Urdu Poetry by the French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy* (August 1922), (2) *Zeb-un-Nisā' and Diwān-i-Makhfi* (May 1923), (3) *A Glance on the Tadhkira-i-Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* (June 1924), (4) *Tadhkira-i-Gulzār-e-A'zam and a few Persian Tadhkiras of Southern India* (July 1925). In the prime of his youth he had the privilege to be an editor of the *Muslim Review*, which was published under the auspices of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta. This *Journal*, though, defunct is still cherished for some of its meritorious literature. The late Professor's own contributions in this magazine were: (1) *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy* (Oct. to Dec. 1927), (2) *Dārā Shikoh and the*

Fine Arts of Painting and Calligraphy (Jan. to March 1928), (3) *Note on Panjsura* (Oct. to Dec. 1928). In 1929 he edited a manuscript of the *Dīwān* of Prince Kāmran, the son of Emperor Bābur. The sober manner with which he wrote its introduction merited the attention of high class scholars. He developed a still more refined taste when he wrote the introduction on the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, the ill-reputed works of Prince Dārā Shikoh. And his fame travelled abroad, when he introduced to scholars of the West the oldest illustrated manuscript of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar-i-Khayyām by writing an article on it in the *Illustrated London News*, of May 10, 1930. In announcing its discovery, Professor Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaq wrote: this superb manuscript, comprising 206 quatrains by the poet was copied in A.D. 1505, only forty-five years after the Bodlian manuscript which is the oldest known copy of 'Umar's *Rubā'iyāt*. The manuscript was transcribed by the famous calligraphist, Sultān 'Alī of Mashhad and illustrated by a colleague of the incomparable Bihzād, the Raphael of the East. It is very finely illuminated and tastefully decorated and is, undoubtedly, one of the finest specimens of the art of manuscript production in Persia in the sixteenth century. The beautiful miniatures which adorn the manuscript are among the finest specimens of the pictorial art of Persia, which flourished under Tamerlane and his successors. Simple in design and execution, charming in their colour scheme, and supremely decorative in character, the paintings have a fascination of which observer never wearies. The hair-fine drawing of lines, the graceful expression of faces, and the harmonious blending of colours, leave an everlasting impression of the great skill and penetrating vision of the artist. The discovery of this beautiful, illustrated and illuminated manuscript of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar-i-Khayyām proved conclusively that it was the East not the West that prepared the first illustrated copy of 'Umar's quatrains. This manuscript which is still preserved in Al-Islāḥ Library, Desna (Patna), has also been edited and published by the late professor. He was a contributor of the *Islamic Culture* also, the back issues of which have his following literary products: (1) *Jāmi and his Autographs* (Oct. 1927), (2) *Discovery of a Portion of the Original Illustrated Manuscript of Tārīkh-e-Alfi, written for the Emperor Akbar* (In the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghosh, Calcutta (July 1930), (3) *The Khān-Khānān and his Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphists* (Oct. 1931), (4) *A Valuable Manuscript of the Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (April 1939). May his soul rest in peace!

We do not, of course, like the agnostic features of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islām's (Kazi Nazrul Islam) poetry. But his contributions to the Muses of Bengalee poetry have been acknowledged and appreciated by all sections of Bengalee-speaking people. So, for the sake of information of our readers, we would mention here the glowing tributes which this poet of Bengal has recently received from some of his admirers. A writer named Rashīd Karīm in an article calls him the people's poet and substan-

tiates this claim by the following arguments. "Freedom to Nazrul Islam was like the breath of his life. He is a genuine democrat and the fever of revolution burns in his veins. His radicalism is both poetic and political and the blend of the two often characterizes his poetry. A poet of the people, his songs are more often than not direct transcripts from personal experience, which, aided by his spontaneous rhythm, lends to his poetry an intimate homeliness which makes the reader his willing captive. Rhythm came to him as naturally as breath and there was no ' strenuous ' artistry about it." And then a study in contrast of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islām with Rabindranath Tagore is made by the above writer who observes: "Tagore's language is dulcet without being effeminate, Nazrul Islam's is ornate, not without excess. In this and many other respects, it is no small wonder that he could repel the over-powering influence of his great contemporary. Not only in form but in matter also, Nazrul Islam does not give you the slightest impression that he belongs to Tagore's age, much less to Tagore's school. This singularity no other contemporary could achieve. He is rather with Satyendranath Dutta, if with anyone at all. Even if he is a member of Satyen Dutta's circle, it must be said to his credit that he far excelled his master. Nazrul Islam's vitality Dutta never attained. The tremendous rush and passionate fervour that vibrate through the Qazi's poetry was also outside Dutta's domain." This observation is followed by a brief review on the Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islām's poetry. "The special genius of Nazrul Islam" according to the reviewer "lay in the unerring instinct with which he seized upon the elemental passions of the primitive toilers of the field, whom he knew so intimately. Wordsworth said that poetry comes from the heart and goes to the heart. If that be so, then Nazrul Islam is among the greatest poets the world has known. His songs dealing with the peasantry are not only about them but are really sung by them. Here he compares well with his younger contemporary, Jaseemuddin, who, together with Nazrul Islam shares in the gift of seizing on rustic passions. It is as a poet of humanity that Nazrul Islam is at his happiest. In him the human note is paramount. The modern poets of Bengal, who have seen the village through books, have never succeeded in their attempt to be a school of people's poets. Their humanism is purely intellectual, while Nazrul Islam's teems with his mind, soul and spirit. The frailties of the village folk, the green of the grass, the love of man and woman in field, all come to the reader charioted by Nazrul Islam's poetry." Mr. Rashid Karim is an admirer of the political concept of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islām's also, so he writes, "Nazrul-Islām's radicalism was political also. The woes of the have-nots found their true expression in his bold outbursts. His patriotic enthusiasm surpassed all legal bounds, for which he was imprisoned. He rebelled against political bondage and economic inequity and writing in his usual fiery language stirred his despondent country-men into pulsive activity. He performed the metamorphosis of apathetic human beings into politic-

ally conscious people. By hastening the struggle for political and economic emancipation, Nazrul Islam did what so many statesmen could not." The appreciative study of the greatest living poets of Bengal is concluded thus: "There is a section of critics which denies Nazrul Islam a place in the firmament of great poets. Their charges are numerous and not always without foundation. Some of the indispensable qualities of a great poet such as sensuous receptiveness, transcendental fervour, philosophical introspection, they say, are not his. Symbolism, suggestiveness, and subtlety are also beyond Nazrul Islam's comprehension. His errors of taste and lack of self control are perhaps patent. Although Keats said 'Poetry should please by a fine excess,' no other poet more than Keats himself took greater pains to disprove the statement. Excess, fine or crude, is detrimental to good poetry. Nazrul Islam's poetry suffers most from excess. But it has to be remembered that Nazrul Islam never pretended to be a poet of poets or a poet of the sophisticated. Let the cultivated critic sneer at his poetry if he will, Nazrul Islam never wrote for him. Just as Robert Burns was poet of the people and of people so is our poet. Bengalee literature does not know a greater national poet."

Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubairi, Principal of the Islamia College, Calcutta, is working out a scheme for the establishment of an Islamia University in Bengal. The Provincial Government is giving due consideration to this scheme. The Secondary Education Bill, which was likely to ameliorate the educational condition of the Muslims of Bengal, is still in the fiery furnace of the stiff and stout opposition of some section of the people of the province. But it is gratifying to learn that the present ministry is acting upon the recommendations of 'Abdul Mo'min's Committee, according to which one million of rupees is to be spent annually on the primary instruction of the Muslim children of Bengal. Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubairi wants that the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization should establish a National Commission for India. The task of the National Commission should be to serve as a means of canalising the spiritual means of the Indian people. Dr. I. H. Zubairi says that we in India are terribly ignorant of the literary heritage of the various cultural and national groups of our country. How many people know that there is a flourishing and vital literature in Marathi and Telugu. The grace and delicacy of Urdu poetry is a sealed book to the people of Eastern India. The achievement in drama and folk poetry of the Bengali is unknown to the people in the South. The National Commission in India can co-ordinate not only the educational and scientific activities of our people but it can interpret the cultural and imaginative heritage of one group to the other through translation, through exchange of pupils and teachers on large scale. Dr. Zubairi hopes that the above Commission can become a means of developing the cultural autonomy of the Hindus, the Muslims and national sub-groups of India, and the richness and diversity of India's cultural heritage will thus be recognised by the United Nations.

Since we last referred to the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* a few more articles on one or other aspect of the Muslim rule in India have appeared in its subsequent issues. They are : (1) *Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Khusrāu* by Mr. Kishori Saran Lal, M.A. (July 1944). This is a critical study of the life and conduct of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Khusrāu, who originally belonged to the low caste of Barvaria or Parvaris of Gujarat, but rose to the exalted position of the Sultān of Delhi by murdering Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn Khiljī. Diyā'-ud-Dīn Barnī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* hurls every sort of abuse upon Khusrāu Shāh whose reign, according to him ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. But the above writer defends Khusrāu Shāh and argues that his (Khusrāu Shāh's) only fault was that he had trusted too much a nobility and soldiery which were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.

(2) *Mariam kī Kothi or Sunehra Makān of Fathpur Sikri*, by Dr. S.K. Banerjee (July 1940). This is an architectural study of the above named building.

(3) *Shāh Jahān's Monuments in Agra*, by Dr. S.K. Banerjee (Dec. 1944). This gives the archæological description of the Agra Fort the Diwān-i-'Ām, the Shāhburj, the Mīnā Bāzārs, the Khāṣ Maḥal, the Angūrī Bāgh, the Sish Maḥal, the Muthamman Burj, the Pachise Court, the Mīnā Nagīna and the Motī Masjids and last Jāmi' Masjid of 'Agra. Dr. S. K. Banerjee earned the distinction of being a prolific writer on the various subjects dealing with the Mughal and pre-Mughal period of India. But he very often manouvres dextrously, though unnecessarily, to usher in between his writings some disagreeable remarks which leave unfavourable impression upon his readers and cast at the same time reflection on his otherwise able and industrious researches.

(4) *The Sanskrit Legend on the Bilingual Tankas of Maḥmūd of Ghazni*, by V.S. Agarwala (December 1944). This describes some newly discovered silver coins which Maḥmūd of Ghazni issued from the Lahore mint bearing on the obverse the Kalima and the legend in Kūfic script, and on the reverse, a Sanskrit translation of the Kalima and the legend written in Deva-Nagri character of the 10th century A.D. These coins are preserved in the Museum of Lucknow.

The bi-weekly *Sidq*, published from Lucknow under the able editorship of Maulawī 'Abd-ul-Mājid Daryābādī, is busy in accomplishing the old mission of educating its readers in high class moral cameos. Its outstanding feature is its leading article written under caption *Sachchī Bātāin* (Truthful Discourses) which, besides being tastefully couched in lucid and charming style, is always the most instructive. Its various other notes have been serving successfully to counteract the evil influences of the non-spiritual and materialistic civilization of the West, which, with the fascination of its colourful and untrammelled modernism has irresist-

tible temptation for the people of India. It also entertains its readers with religious and sociological discussions. The subjects which are being discussed at present in its various issues are: (1) *The Causes of the Present Discontents and Disturbances in India*, (2) *Zakāt*, (3) *Zamīndārī System and the Islamic Laws*, (4) *Recollection of the Personal Impressions and Experiences of the late Haḍrat Maulāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī*.

The learned editor of the *Ṣidq* has taken a keen interest in an article namely *Islam's Influence on Hinduism* by Lt.-Col. Khwāja 'Abdur Rashīd. We would like to quote here some extract from it. Islam, observes Lt.-Col. Khwāja 'Abdur Rashīd, has given a vital impetus to the religions it has come into contact with. View for a moment, the various progressive movements and reforms that are taking place in Hinduism and Christianity since the last one century. The people of the above two religions are gradually detaching themselves from their old practices and coming to a right understanding of their faith to which Islam has re-introduced them. Brahma, Vishnu, and Maha-eshwara are all in one Aum (Om) now. Aum is the one supreme creator for them in whom all attributes of the ultimate Ego are concentrated. The nature of Christ has been doubted, and the theory of son has been refuted and is disappearing. 90% of the Christians of various schools of thought that one comes across these days do not believe in Jesus Christ as the son of God. Islam has infused into the people a spirit of right thinking and reintroduced them to the true religion of one God which had died long ago. In other words religion is reborn in Islam. Islam has brought home to the people the lost teachings of the Upanishad and the original Holy Bible. After centuries of religious slumber the Qur'ān struck a note of warning that the religions which were all from God had been adulterated, and now they must revert to the same old belief of one God, without which a peaceful harmony in society is not possible. The Hindu Pantheon is fast disappearing under the influence of Muslim Tauḥīd. They have started unearthing the real teachings on the footsteps of Islam. Islam has shown it the way : it has pointed out in unequivocal terms that that which was the truth is hidden from them. As all religions are true and from the same one God, but having been malpractised and forgotten they must start afresh the search for truth on the line suggested by Islam.

A very interesting publication, namely *Mashāhīr Ahl-i-'Ilm ki Muḥsin Kitābain*, has been brought out by Nadwat-ul-Ulemā, Lucknow. It consists of a collection of articles by almost all the renowned Urdu scholars, each of whom has given a lively discourse on his choicest books, which have helped to mould his life, character as well as modes of writing. This book, which is really a valuable addition to Urdu literature will be found entertaining and instructive by every class of readers.

FOREIGN

MIDDLE EAST

THE whole of the contemporary Arab world is in an intellectual ferment. This is closely linked up with the revival of interest in the glorious past as well as the burning national aspirations of the present. The following is a brief summary of these developments in some of the Middle Eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq) in recent years, covering a vast field from University education to intellectual, cultural and scientific activities.

University and Higher Education :

There exist seven Universities catering primarily to the Arabs. Three of these are in Cairo : the Fuād I University, controlled by the Ministry of Public Instruction ; partially reformed Al-Azhar and the other as yet undeveloped American University. In Alexandria, there is the Fārūq I University, also established and controlled by the Ministry. Bairut has two Universities, the Jesuit Universite de St. Joseph, partially subsidised by the French Government and the non-sectarian, private American University. Damascus has a State University which is as yet no more than a group of professional schools. In Baghdad, it is proposed to create a University out of the existing professional schools. In Khartum the Gordon Memorial College is proposed to be raised to the status of a University College. Jerusalem has only an excellent Teachers' Training Institute, the Government Arab College ; the Hebrew University has only a handful of Arab students and practically no contact with Arab intellectual life.

Of these institutions the Fuād I University is the largest and richest and has men of considerable eminence especially in science, both Egyptian and European, among its professors. The American University of Bairut is perhaps the most effective teaching institution. The Universite de St. Joseph is notable for its great Oriental Seminary.

Revival of Arabic Language :

Recent years have witnessed a great revival of Arabic. Its vocabulary has been so expanded and idiom so developed and enriched as to make it capable of expressing the most comprehensive and subtle modern ideas. It has led to a new knowledge of and growing interest in the rich classical literature. As a result, the masterpieces of the past have once more be-

come familiar to the cultivated Arab. There has been a considerable amount of activity in translation both of purely literary and technical writings.

Among some excellent translations may be pointed out 'Abdur Raḥ-mān Badawī's renderings of long series of German literary and philosophical works in Cairo, and Najātī Ṣidqī's recently begun work on Russian classics in Jaffa.

History and Science :

Great Arab traditions of historiography are once more coming to life and scholars of Arab origin are throwing the light of modern Western critical method upon the Arab past. Among the outstanding writers may easily be mentioned the Lebanese Professor Phillip K. Hitti (working at Princeton University, N. J., U.S.A.) and the Egyptian A.S. 'Atiyah. Of sociological works, perhaps the most remarkable is Pere Eyrout's book *Le Fallah*—a study of the Egyptian peasantry.

Poetry :

Arab poetry is once more flourishing, both through a revival of classical forms and an adaptation of Western forms, primarily French. The greatest of the modern poets have been Egyptian, Lebanese and 'Irāqī—Shawqī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in Egypt, al-Zahawī and al-Rasafī in 'Irāq ; Nasif al-Yazījī, Ibrāhīm, Khalīl Maṭrān and Bishara al-Khūrī in Lebanon. Today most well-known young poets are found in Lebanon and among emigrants from that country to the New World i.e. one of the best living Arab poets is Eliya Madey who edits an Arabic newspaper in New York.

Belles lettres :

In the domain of belles lettres and criticism certainly Dr. Tāḥa Ḥusain is outstanding. This Egyptian blind scholar (blind almost from birth and educated at Al-Azhar, Fuād I University and in France) is an essayist on pre-Islamic poetry, life of the Prophet and Arab history. He has also written an autobiography (*Al-Ayyām* partially translated into English as 'An Egyptian childhood'), of great charm and pathos. Another notable book by him is *'Ala Ḥāmish as-Sira*, which is a literary work attempting with full awareness of modern critical results, to imaginatively reconstruct the environment of the Prophet's day and interpret his life as it must have appeared to his contemporaries.

Among the chronicles of Egyptian countryside may be mentioned Tawfiq al-Hakīm who has produced his masterpiece, *Yawmiyāt Nā'ib Fi'l Rif*. The drama and the novel are new to the Arabians but in recent years they have been greatly encouraged, especially due to the rapid growth of the film industry in Egypt.

Pristine Islam :

There has also grown up a tendency common to many Muslim lands to emphasize 'primitive Islam' and the days of the Prophet, and along with this has been evinced a renewed interest in the study of the traditions. Thus have appeared many biographies of the Prophet, which have sought to give a modern presentation of the events of his life and their significance. Among these may be mentioned Mawlā Bay's *Muhammad the Perfect Example* and Husain Haikal's *Muhammad* and Ṭahā Husain's *'Ala Hāmish as-Sirah*.

Women :

Among the Arab women in the literary field may be mentioned the Syrian May Ziadah and the Egyptian Malak Hifni Nasif. The awakening among women has been growing ever stronger since Qāsim Amin wrote his *New Woman* at the turn of the century.

Christian Arabs :

Christian Arabs both in the Middle East as well as in their new settlements in the Americas are fired by a burning nationalism and conscious of their Arab heritage. Most present writers and thinkers among them seem determined to hold on equally to both sides of their heritage, the Christian and the Arab. Apart from a host of contributions the writings of Khalil Jibrān may be regarded as the most original products of Arab Christian culture.

N.A.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

STUDIES, ISLAMIC AND ORIENTAL
by Ahmad Miān Akhtar of Junagadh ;
published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf,
Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; pp. 226; Rs. 8

THE author has collected here ten of his articles published in different journals during the last several years. Two of them relate to Warāqah (or all those professions that are connected with Warq or paper, such as transcribing, bookbinding, paper manufacture and colouring of books, etc. The rest are :

3. Sa'di's Visit to Somnath.
4. A tract of Avicenna translated by Khayyām.
5. Shams-e-Tabrizi.
6. The Arabic Poetry of Hāfiz.
7. The Saracens, Etymology and Denomination.
8. The Tribulations of India.
9. Al-Māwardi, his Life and Work.
10. Arabic Sources of the History of the Gujarat Sultanate.

In connection with Sa'di's visit to Gujarat, we may refer our readers to an article by Garcin de Tassy in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, of as far back as 1843, on the Urdu poetical compositions of the famous Persian Master. We take the liberty of reproducing an important quotation from it :—

میان محمد قائم در تذکرہ خود از روی تواریخ
احوال سعدی شیرازی در نوشتہ اند کہ ہکام سیر

وسایحت بطرف گجرات تشریف آو ردد سبب
مجاورت سومات۔ چنانچہ در نسخہ بوستان خودش
ایمائی براین فرمودہ اند، بزبان این دیار وقوف
یافتہ یکدو بیت کہ مد از این مرقوم حواہد شد
برسیل تھنن بقید نظم در آورده، مراد اینست کہ
موحد زبان ریختہ سعدی شیرازی است۔ مد از آن
حضرت امیر خسرو برہان ما طراحى و تعمیرہای
بسیار بکار بردند۔

ای مردمان شہر سہمان، کیسی پڑی یہ ریت ہے
ہے ہے ہی پرسد کسے، پردیسا ما ریت ہے
ہم نے ہے تم کو دل دیا، تم نے یا اور دکھ دیا
تم یہ کیا، ہم وہ کیا، ایسی بھلی یہ ریت ہے
سعدی طرح انگینختہ، شہد و شکر آمینختہ
در ریختہ در ریختہ، ہم شعر ہے ہم گیت ہے
(J.A., p. 24, 26).

In the article on Saracens, the author has quoted the opinion of Mas'ūdī from his *at-Tanbih wal-Ishraf*. Our author could usefully have translated the Latin footnote in the European edition of this work, which contains some important observations.

The two articles on Warāqah could better follow each other in the next edition if not even amalgamated in one single article.

Arabic sources of Gujarat history are welcom addition to the very small literature on the subject.

We welcome this useful collection, and hope it will stimulate the Muslim intelligentsia in Kathiawar for ever greater efforts in this field. Junagarh is a big Muslim State, but our ignorance or negligence of it is bigger still. It ought to contribute its quota to the scholarship of Indian Islam. Invitation to learned conferences must be the first step in that direction.

M.H.

ISLAM AND THE THEORY OF INTEREST by Anwar Iqbal Qureshi of Osmania University, published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; pp. 222; Rs. 5.

THIS is the English translation of the author's original Urdu monograph, done by himself, for wider diffusion and utilization. Such a work, requiring co-operation of authorities on Muslim Law as well as Economics could only be produced in the Osmania University under the existing circumstances. The author is the Head of the Department of Economics, and was helped by the Head of the Faculty of (Muslim) Theology and other competent persons, and the result is an illuminating and inspiring contribution in English on the subject from Islamic point of view.

The author has traced the history of interest in all ages and climes up to the most modern and current theories and trends. Discussion of Islamic teaching is tolerably exhaustive. However, workable and self-contained schemes for interest-free banks and insurance companies would have enhanced the practical utility of the work at the present juncture.

Unfortunately the book abounds in printing mistakes especially in Arabic quotations. On p. xviii there are two grave misprints in Qur'ānic verses in two lines. There are others on pages 84, 103 (line) 5, etc.

The very first line of the author commences as "After groping in darkness for over 1360 years the world is realizing

today that the rate of interest may come to near zero." However, it is not clear what he means by the number of years (1360). If it refers to the Hijra year in which the book was written, that would imply that before the Hijra or Migration of the Prophet, there was no trouble with regard to this matter in the world; and the evil spread from the time of the Holy Prophet,—which is certainly not what the author intends to convey. There are other such unhappy expressions, which, of course, must be overlooked in one to whom English is not a mother-tongue.

The book must find place in every intelligent home in the east and west.

M.H.

TĀRĪKH NĀMA-I-HARĀT by Sayf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Harawī edited by Prof. Zubair Siddiqi of Calcutta University, and published by the Imperial Library, Calcutta; pp. 822, xxxvi; price not given.

THE printing of this rare and important work was begun as far back as 1928 and it has just been released. Different fascicles printed during these 18 years have naturally affected adversely on the get-up of the book but not the scholarship of the editor.

The importance of Harāt cannot be too much exaggerated in the annals of Islam. The present work is of great historical and literary value. It is supposed to have been compiled between 721 and 729 Hijra, at the command of Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Din Kurt. It is a contemporary record of the complicated events in the history of N.-E. Iran during a difficult period of her history. "It is the earliest available history of Harāt and the only available contemporary account of its Kurt ruler." There are quotations of poems of some of whom there is no other record. The work is considered as a reliable source of information, and was constantly referred to or even plagiarised by later historians.

The editing of a work with the help of a unique manuscript is not an easy task, and even the 24-page corrigenda is perhaps not complete. However, we congratulate the editor on completing this extremely valuable work.

There is a name-index yet no list of contents. Such a reference work requires even a subject-index.

There may be manuscripts of this book in Afghanistan yet none has come so far to light even by persistent efforts of Governments concerned.

The work is in Persian, and the editor has wisely preserved the old orthography which dates from an epoch when *ch*, and *j*, *g* and *k*, *p* and *b*, *z* and *zh* had no distinctive features.

M.H.

IBN TUFAIL AND HIS PHILOSOPHICAL ROMANCE HAYY IBN YAZZAN, edited by Dr. Omar A. Farrukh, professor of Islamic Philosophy and Arabic Literature at the Maqasid College, Beirut, 1946; pp. 100; price not given.

THE famous Arabic work by Ibn Tufail has been reprinted again and again, but it was unintelligible except to the specialized few. Our author has done a singular service by producing this monograph in Arabic, in which he has not only given interesting information regarding life and time and work of Ibn Tufail but has also set forth in clear language the object of the romance and its analysis, together with a comparative study, and a resumé of its effects on Western thought.

M.H.

THE LAST PESHWA AND THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS 1818-1851 by Pratal, C. Gupta; publishers S. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta; Rs. 6.

THE author has to his credit a book on *Baji Rao II and the East India Co.* The book under review is a continuation of the former work, containing a further study of Baji Rao in exile.

On the 5th November 1817, Peshwa Baji Rao attacked the Company's troops stationed at Kirkee and the Maratha War began. In May next Baji Rao decided to give up the struggle, so saying the author proceeds. The Peshwa surrendered himself to the English on 3rd June 1818.

It was sometime before the city of Poona was surrounded by General Smith's army on the 8th May 1817, Baji Rao agreed to grant Niwar Putr. Therefore he held a durbar on 5th May, and three days afterwards the city of Poona was occupied by the British troops. Thus it was the last official durbar of the last Peshwa which appears stranger than fiction. We wish the author had mentioned something on this topic which appears to be appropriate as the last generous act of the Peshwa, now doomed for exile.

The author has very ably examined the case of Yasodabai, the impostor lady. It may not be out of place to mention that we have come across two copies of her letter written in Persian dated 12th and 25th June 1825, wherein the so-called Yasodabai narrates her pathetic case and claims Rs. 1,25,000 for the expenses incurred. There is no doubt that this fake lady approached important personages as her letters disclose.

The author has utilized almost all the sources, published and unpublished and has given us the result of his careful study for which we are grateful to him.

While looking into his Bibliography (p. 108), newspapers and journals, we find *The Bengal Harkare & India Gazette* 1851, *The Englishman & Military Chronicle* 1951, etc., have been utilized by him. It is unfortunate that he had no access to other contemporary newspapers published in Cawnpur, Delhi, Indore, etc., for we know that these refer to the activities of the Peshwa. The *Akhbār-i-Malwa*, published an obituary notice on the death of the Peshwa (black bordered) and there was also an editorial covering 3 columns.

However, what we have said, in no way lessens the value of the book. The author deserves our best compliments for

presenting to the scholars a readable account of the Peshwa and the English officers who acted as his custodians.

K.S.L.

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION by V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D.; published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay; Rs. 6.

THIS work which is now before us was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Bombay, which approved it. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has written the preface which speaks of the high standard attained by the author.

Such a vast historical materials which has been brought to the notice of scholars, through the untiring efforts of Sardesai, the Maratha historian, has been, we are glad to say, very well utilized by Dr. Dighe. The perusal of the book impresses one with the scholarship of the author, his capacity for careful documentation, his impartial examination of data and presentation of sober conclusion.

The author deserves our congratulations for presenting us with a scientifically written full history of one of the greatest Maratha statesmen, who in spite of some blots in his private character, tried his utmost to serve the cause of the Maratha Empire. This book should prove useful to scholars and students of Indian history.

K.S.L.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *National Harmony* by Percival Spear, publishers : Oxford University Press, Madras, Rs. 0-6-0.
2. *Pakistan Defined* by Begum Firdaus Rizvi; publisher. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore
3. *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. I, Nos. I & II, Quarterly organ of the Iran Society, 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, annual Indian subscription : Rs. 10, annual Foreign subscription : £. 0-15-0
4. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXVI, Parts III & IV; printed and published by Dr. R.N. Dandekar at the Bhandarkar Institute Press, Poona—4
5. *Ramadan Annual* August, 1946; printed and published by Md. Makki, 98-100 Brickfield Road, Durban, Natal.
6. *Five Pillars*, Vol I, Nos. 3 & 4, Vol. II. No. 1, printed and published by Md. Makki.
7. *The Star*, Qaed-e-Azam Birthday Number, printed and published by Aziz Beg, Mustafa Building, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay; Re. 1.

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Ed., I. C.

